FBIS DAILY REPORT

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Vol III No 147 *31 July 1981*

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ARBATOV ON U.S. ARMS POLICY, SALT, AFGHANISTAN

LD301438 London BBC World Service in English 2330 GMT 20 Jul 81

["America, Europe and the World" program, introduced by David Perman]

[Text] In this, the last but one program in the series, we are considering what George Ball in the first program described as "the fundamental problem the United States faces in foreign policy, which broods over everything," that is, its relations with the Soviet Union. The two superpowers have competed, militarily and politically, since the end of the Second World War. At first they were rivals in Europe--now their rivalry extends deep into the Third World. And overshadowing all else, as George Ball reminded us, is the fact that they are the only two nations in the world which can destroy civilization with nuclear weapons.

Well, throughout the seventies an attempt was made to limit that risk. It was the era of detente and one of its most important features was the strategic arms limitation talks or SALT. But as the decade came to an end, at the close of 1979, the SALT II treaty failed to get through the United States Senate and the Russian Army was in Afghanistan. Since then of course we have had the American election and the victory of Mr Ronald Reagan, who promised to push back Soviet expansionism in the world and to renegotiate the SALT treaty. However, under pressure from its European allies the Reagan administration has agreed to open talks with the Soviet Union before the end of this year on the issue of theater nuclear weapons, like the cruise and Pershing missiles and the Russian SS-20's.

I've been trying to see all these events from the Russian point of view and talking to the Soviet Union's foremost expert on the United States. He is Georgiy Arbatov, a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and director of the Institute of United States and Canadian Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. I met Mr Arbatov at the institute in Moscow and we spoke first about the disillusionment of the Soviet leadership with the Carter administration and the way in which they appeared to welcome in the new Reagan administration.

[Begin recording] [Arbatov] There were all reasons to be very pessimistic in the last year of Carter's administration, which very effectively demolished almost everything which remained from this long year of efforts to build up Soviet-American relations. But we also were very much aware of the platform and the philosophy of the new team. Despite it, we were ready to work with it and there was a signal given immediately after the election when President Brezhnev said that despite all preelection rhetoric we are ready to work with this administration. And then Senator Percy came to Soviet Union and he had very serious talks here. Well, and so we did what we do usually, we try to pave the way for incoming people, that there are no additional or artificial obstacles. We did the same, by the way with Carter. I am sorry it didn't materialize but it was not our fault.

[Question] But the Reagan administration has now been in office for 6 months and during that time many observers have seen its main foreign policy stance as being one of anti-Soviet rhetoric. Do you see anything more than that in the Reagan administration so far?

[Answer] Well, you know I think there is a lot of anti-Soviet rhetoric but I wouldn't generalize. I don't know all: I think these vocal people aren't everybody in the administration. I also don't think that all of them know what they will do. Maybe they will need some time, maybe the whole time they will have to make up their mind. I don't know. But you know, this is not only anti-Soviet, this is anti-very much things and this is dangerous.

I have sometimes a feeling that many of the people who are at the top in the United States, they are really angry with the world, that it has become a bit uncomfortable to the United States, [the world]--doesn't love United States as they think the world should love United States and sometimes they have such gut feelings that they do want to punish the world--allies, and Third World countries and Soviet Union, of course, among the first.

[Question] But do you see this changing? I mean, do you see any signs of a positive policy in Washington towards the Soviet Union on major issues of cooperation or setting out the objectives of both sides or arms limitation?

[Answer] Not yet. Because I cannot take as serious sign this consent to start some preliminary talks on theater nuclear weapons at the end of this year. We simply don't believe the Americans mean it seriously. You know you cannot pick out one weapon system and say we'll negotiate on it. It's so closely connected when their whole posture is to arm. You simply don't believe that they are serious with this proposal.

[Question] But the West Europeans are very serious about wanting discussions, negotiations on theater nuclear weapons, the West Germans in particular, but all the European members of the NATO alliance. So surely they will press the United States for serious talks on theater nuclear weapons. So are you saying that theater nuclear weapon negotiations are not possible without taking into account all of the other issues, like strategic arms?

[Answer] Well, you know, I don't want to say that they are not possible without taking into account all other negotiations, or all other weapons. But they are impossible if they are the only issue discussed in arms control field. They are absolutely connected with SALT. They have come as an issue at a certain stage of SALT negotiations and it has become possible to discuss them at certain stages of SALT negotiations and it won't change. For us these weapon systems are very close, whether the Americans deploy their missiles in West Germany, in the Channel on the submarines, or inside the United States. For us the only difference is warning time, the time which they fly to Soviet Union. Otherwise, it's the same strategic weapon for us. So we have to be sure.

You know, about the willingness of the Europeans, I agree with you. The Europeans are now in the initial stage of understanding that their security interests and the security interests of the United States start to diverge more and more, because really for the Americans Europe begins to be more and more a sort of forward-based bridgehead, where in case of need they even can--in extreme cases of course--fight it out with the Soviets, including to fight it out with nuclear wars, and then have a chance to settle it somehow without suicide. In my point of view, it is an absolute illusion. If they have a nuclear war, we have a nuclear war, which is called limited in Europe but it will become an all-out world nuclear war.

[Question] But the Soviet Union has opposed the deployment of theater nuclear weapons like the cruise and the Pershing missiles by the West European members of the NATO alliance and has tried to persuade public opinion in Europe that these should not be deployed. The West European government response has been: But the Soviet Union has already been deploying its own SS-20, so why shouldn't we have American weapons to defend us?

[Answer] Well, you know, this is a very long and very serious subject to discuss. I will say only a few things, that really our deployment of theater nuclear forces has not started with SS-20. SS-4 and SS-5 were there for 20 years. It was regarded all the time as part of a balance, because against these theater nuclear forces of Soviet Union there are some forces of American allies, forward-based nuclear systems of the United States in Europe, and also all the American strategic weapons. You cannot make such simple equation, you know--one missile to another missile, etc..nobody was somehow concerned about it. Then I think it was part of the overall change in posture which coincided with everything, with this NATO decision to increase....

It is an unprecedented decision, you know, to make a decision that you will increase for 15 years three percent yearly your military budget, whatever happens in the world. So the picture looks much more complicated. You know this is just part of this mythology of the Soviet threat, which works maybe since 1917. It's used, it's proven that it's not correct, then it's used again.

[Question] You said that there had been a lot of rhetoric coming out of the United States, out of the Reagan administration, about the Soviet Union, but some of these charges have been supported by other countries, which are not in the Western alliance; I mean charges that the Soviet Union over the last decade has been expanding its influence on the Third World, has been supporting all sorts of movements with arms. Maybe these other countries wouldn't actually use the phrase that the Soviet Union is sponsoring terror, which is the phrase used in Washington, but there would be a general agreement that the Soviet Union has been stirring up trouble throughout the world.

[Answer] We live in a very uneasy period of time and when there is an uneasiness and the situation is not stable, people are seduced all the time to find the villain who is behind the bush. But, if you take what is going on really in the Third World, they are in a period of change which will last for many decades I am afraid. And we have to live with it and both sides, I think, the Americans as well as the Soviets will have their sympathies.

[Question] But why does the Soviet Union give arms? I mean it seems to be mainly an arms supplier in the Third World. It's not particularly an economic power, for example.

[Answer] Well, the first thing, the major arms supplier is not the Soviet Union. It's the United States and very substantial arms suppliers are also other Western nations. The Soviet Union usually gives arms to the nation which in its opinion is threatened by outside invasion, is engaged in legitimate struggle you know. Take, for instance Angola and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]. Starting from 1960, there were several resolutions of the UN General Assembly calling for moral and material assistance to the anti-colonial struggle in Angola, and we did it. And what happened? Yes we helped and the Cubans helped. Do we exploit this country? No. Who exploits oil there? Gulf Oil, as it happened before. Who exploits diamonds? De Beers, as it happened before. Even some Americans joke that actually the Cubans are somehow guarding the work of this economy, dominated by these countries.

[Question] But why have you been there, why have you been helping Ethiopia, Angola and so on? Is it because of your ideological attitude, an affinity with liberation movements there, or is it because the Soviet Union is now expecting to behave like a superpower, like the United States, or like Britain or West Germany?

[Answer] It's just we have our sympathies; we have some things which we consider to be our duty. And it's also a reaction to the policy of some other countries, and nothing more; no master plan to govern Africa or to turn Africa into a Soviet military base, or something like this, you know. You shouldn't actually concentrate on us. Look, the Americans started--what they started in Southeast Asia with Vietnam. We felt obliged to help the Vietnamese. The Americans were for a long time in Ethiopia, supporting Haile Selassie, an absolutely rotten and corrupt feudal empire, and we were at this time in Somalia. And during our influence in Somalia, never the question has arisen of Somalia intervening in the Ogaden and trying to take away part of Ethiopian territory. We supported Ethiopia, one of the most ancient countries and civilizations in Africa who would be torn to pieces without our support and Cuban support. So what bad did we do there? We didn't extract a single dollar for our sake. If the Ethiopians ask us, and we can be helpful, why don't we have the right, why have only others the right?

[Question] But what about Afghanistan? The invasion, or the military intervention, by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan was seen throughout the world as being a provocative move.

[Answer] Well, nice that you retreat and single out Afghanistan after the whole sequence, because you see I believe that each case has to be regarded separately because they are very very different in their scope and nature.

[Question] Can I just say that I single out Afghanistan because most other people did single out Afghanistan.

[Answer] I'm ready to discuss it. I simply told the answer to your previous assertion, that in these years the Soviet Union increased its activity all over the Third World, etc. There were some separate, different cases, and Afghanistan is one of them. Afghanistan is our neighbor and we have a long history of relations with it--I must tell you good relations. We had good relations when it was under monarch, we had good relations under Daoud, then the revolution happened. About the revolution, our leaders got to know from the news agencies. It was not our work. They even didn't consult us.

What did happen there really was that very soon those who were against the revolution and who have their bases in Pakistan and in Iran--there are no guarded borders there--started to receive a lot of foreign help from the United States, Saudi Arabia, China, Egypt, not to speak about Pakistan and Iran. We have good proof of that. And they began to overrun, to cross the border and to fight the legitimate government. And starting from February or March 79, the Afghanistan Government asked us several times for military help which was denied till December. In December, I think the reading--this is my personal opinion--simply the reading of the threat to Afghanistan, also to our southern border, became different than it was before.

[Question] You said that the request for Soviet help was made a number of times...

[Answer] Twelve times, or 13.

[Question] Twelve times or 13 times. Can I bring up the question of linkage. I mean, was there a linkage between the Russians eventually deciding to intervene or to give help in Afghanistan and the whole process of the SALT negotiations and the SALT treaty appearing before the United States Senate?

[Answer] I don't like this dirty word.

[Question] But it's a fact. Is it not a fact?...

[Answer] I would call it differently which I think is much more accurate. You know taking such a decision--and Brezhnev called it a very difficult decision, really difficult, for us difficult. I would use another word, assessment, if you take such difficult decisions. You have to take into account different factors. One of them is the assessment of threat because you regard it also as a defense measure, to defend your friend with whom you have a treaty, etc, Afghanistan, and also defense measure to defend your southern borders, because this is 2,500 kms of mutual border we have with Afghanistan. And I think this assessment has changed, not only due to SALT process. The SALT process was cut off simply at this period--before Afghanistan--and it is lies when people tell that this is because of Afghanistan. The issue was as good as dead in the Senate of the United States in the middle of December before we moved a finger in Afghanistan--because of Iran, because of Cuba, because of many other things.

[Question] But you are saying that, if the SALT treaty had still had a very good chance of getting through the United States Congress, that you would not have jeopardized this by the intervention in Afghanistan?

[Answer] If you allow me, I will explain it a bit more, because it is not only SALT treaty. In the middle of December, despite our many proposals to avoid new turn in this arms race in theater nuclear weapons, to start negotiations, this NATO decision about theater nuclear weapons was taken.

Then, you know, you had a massive amassment of naval forces of the United States in the Persian Gulf, rather close to Afghanistan and also to our borders, and we couldn't believe that this was just because of the American hostages in Iran. All of this could be read in Moscow, already in the middle of December--and I personally read it in this way, as a scholar, a man who studies international relations--that some basic attitudes in the foriegn policy of the United States and part, at least, of the NATO community had changed for the worse. They were in for arms race, for regaining military superiority, maybe for a more interventionist policy, because some things also have shown in this direction. And in this case, of course, the whole political thinking can go in another way.

[Question] It's said in the West that the whole Afghanistan episode has been a very embarrassing, a very expensive, a very damaging event for the Soviet Union. You have been condemned by many parts of the United Nations, by many Islamic states, as well as by the West. Is it something that the Soviet Union would like to get out of as soon as it can?

[Answer] Well, not all these condemnations are equally sincere, not all of them are equally persuasive. Of course, it is not a joy to undertake such action and we were very open on it. And we would like to stop it. There were many proposals including that made by Brezhnev at the last party congress about an international conference--of course with the participation of the Afghanistan government--which could solve the problem, to give guarantees of Afghanistan's borders that they will not be overrun. Well, that there will be no military interference into its affairs. In this case, this military contingent which we have there would be withdrawn to Soviet Union.

[Question] Can I turn from Afghanistan to Poland, which is another issue which worries people in the West very much? To us Western people, it would seem that here is an evolution of the communist system, but in a way which the Soviet Union considers dangerous and so, therefore, it is trying to stop this evolution. It is trying to keep things as they are, or turn back the clock, in fact.

[Answer] You know, Poland is not my field really and there are not all problems connected with Poland I am ready and willing to discuss with you. But, one comment I would dare to make. It's that the events in Poland are much more complicated than you hinted at and there are many different layers of evolution and correction of some things which were done wrong, and they happen in all countries. This is a normal process of development of any society, including any communist society. And we have nothing against that. But there is also another layer, simply to do away with the present institution, with the leading role of the Communist Party, with the relations Poland has with its neighbors, with the social system in Poland, etc. And some people in Poland and outside of Poland are very open about it and this is what we are strongly against, calling this a counterrevolutionary trend in these Polish events and counterrevolutionary forces working there.

[Question] Let's come back to the central issue, may we? Do you believe that the danger of a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union can be avoided still? You are not worried that the change in United States' policy has made nuclear war much closer?

[Answer] No, we are very much worried about it. It was continuously stressed on all important occasions, in all important documents, in all important political moves made by us, the last of them being this appeal to the parliaments and to the peoples of the world that the danger of war increases and something has to be done, by all of us, by all countries.

[Question] The way in which this can be avoided is, of course, strategic arms limitation. Do you have any real hopes of strategic arms limitation talks with the Reagan administration, which has said that it really wants to renegotiate the whole thing from scratch?

[Answer] You know, as it looks now, it doesn't give much room for hope. Somehow, you know, it looks like a troglodyte administration. Some Neanderthal people suddenly have come to power. You know very difficult, or I'll use another comparison, it's like you play football. It may be a rough game but suddenly the other team comes out with knives and iron sticks and doesn't want to keep to any rules. You know you have really to assert the whole situation as it is. I don't think they will be able to go on with such behavior, but now you have some terrible people there. If a secretary of defense rises at a platform, an official platform before the NATO countries, and simply lies, repeats some fabricated documents, fabricated by very cheap spy agencies, that Brezhnev has at some secret speech in Prague said we actually do want to use detente simply to strangle the West etc., etc.--you know it was not done even at the height of the cold war time. But for a man who is a member of the cabinet to get up and come out with it; the language used by the President, some things done by the secretary of state, these wildest accusations, you know.

[Question] Yes, but apart from the whole question of trying call names to the Americans, in answer to the names that they have called you, to come to this issue of strategic arms limitation, which is the major issue. Do you see any hope of real negotiations with the administration of Mr Reagan, which has said that it wants to renegotiate SALT II, it really wants to go back to fundamental first principles in strategic arms limitation talks.

[Answer] Well, you know, while there is life there is hope. Even I think, most people in the Pentagon understand that they are better off with SALT than without SALT. Just now, the people who are responsible, like Rostow, all of them talk about impossible things. We'll never agree to it.

[Question] But are you saying that sooner or later the administration will change and....

[Answer] You know, I believe as I believed all the time that there are no acceptable alternatives to peaceful coexistence, to detente and to arms control. We either perish or we follow this path. And I am also sure that people are not fools, maybe the Americans have got more conservative for a while, but they haven't got crazy--all of them, at least. It's true also for all American allies, so they understand and will understand it more and more. But when it happens I don't know. Maybe there will be a zigzag, maybe a very dangerous zigzag. You know I shudder sometimes when I think about something like the Yom Kippur war of 1973 happening under the present situation. Under the tensions, we have absence of dialogue with the Americans and an even more volatile and dangerous situation in the Middle East. People are simply irresponsible, you know. We need normal relations between East and West, the Soviet Union and the United States, for many reasons--for arms control talks but also to guard against crises which maybe neither of us want. [end recording]

FRENCH VIEW ON SOVIET MISSILES CRITICIZED

LD310002 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Paris, 30 Jul, TASS--According to press reports, France's Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, speaking in the Senate's Foreign Relations Commission, again referred to the question of the build-up of armaments in Europe. He reiterated the thesis about "the changed nature of nuclear balance as a result of the deployment of SS-20 missiles," since in his words "the new Soviet missiles are capable of paralysing all the defence system of Western Europe" and "there is at present in the West no counterbalance to them".

Like in his recent interview for the press, Claude Cheysson omitted to mention the fact that for already over a decade the Soviet Union has not increased by even a single unit the aggregate level of its medium-range launchers in Europe, whose total number, like that of the West, is about a thousand pieces.

The minister found no way to react to the Soviet observations that, among other things, the quantity of the rocket launchers and the overall capacity of the nuclear charges on the Soviet side has even declined in the last decade.

In the words of Claude Cheysson, "France wishes to see, without delay, the start of negotiations on strategic matters between the USA and the Soviet Union." However, the minister hastened to make it clear that the French armaments must be excluded from the overall analysis of the balance of forces between East and West.

The backdrop for these statements has been provided by the recent utterances by French officials in favour of deploying in Europe six hundred extra U.S. missiles, and by reports on the development of neutron weapons and replacing missiles with a single-block warhead with missiles with seven warheads, to say nothing about the repeated reminders that France belongs to the North Atlantic alliance. That is why--and even independently of the real share of the French armaments in the West's military potential--they cannot be left out of any analysis of the overall alignment of forces in Europe, and the refusal of the new government in Paris to make a constructive contribution to reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe would acquire quite definite political overtones.

APN COMMENTATOR ON EUROMISSILE MORATORIUM PLAN

PM280700 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 21 Jul 81 p 3

[APN Stockholm editor Sergey Volokitin article: "What Threatens?"]

[Text] The paradoxical has happened--it is not the accelerating arms race but the growing peace movement in the countries of the West which the Swedish press has started to describe as the greatest threat to peace. SVENSKA DAGBLADET hinted at this in connection with Henry Kissinger's visit a while ago and with the continuing peace march to Paris.

One has every sympathy with Henry Kissinger's warning to the West European population on the consequences of unilateral disarmament. It seems to be taken as an axiom that the Soviet Union does not want to disarm and "Soviet superiority in both nuclear and conventional arms" is now being presented as something indisputable.

I am not revealing any great secret when I say that the west and the East do not always have the same view of the relative military strengths in this world--the strategic and the Eurostrategic.

However, I find it remarkable that the press in Sweden, a country which is not a member of NATO, practically only publicizes one side's--NATO's--view of affairs (this is true, for example, of the material from the NATO Council's recent meeting in Rome,) while Soviet assessments and arguments are more or less completely ignored. (In parenthesis I would like to say that assessments in the West are not fully as uniform as might be thought. I could cite several statements, even by such politicians as Alexander Haig, Helmut Schmidt or Jean Andre Francois-Poncet, to the effect that there is at present nuclear parity between the Soviet Union and the United States.)

The communique from the NATO meeting in Rome confirmed the previously adopted decision to deploy cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. This with reference to the SS-20 missiles which, it is claimed, give the Soviet Union military superiority.

However, the Soviet assessment is that there is parity as far as the number of warhead delivery systems and medium-range missile systems are concerned and that the West retains considerable superiority in the number of warheads with which these systems are equipped (especially if we remember that NATO has been strengthened with five U.S. submarines armed with Poseidon missiles with multiple warheads.")

The SS-20 does not have the same range as the missiles it replaces. Like the old missiles the SS-20 is being stationed in the European sections of the Soviet Union to counterbalance the strong group of forward-based U.S. arms and the corresponding British and French systems based on NATO territory.

The U.S. cruise and Pershing II missiles (the first million dollar grants for their development were made in 1974 when the SS-20 still did not exist) are intended for new tasks, however--to strike at strategic targets deep within the Soviet Union. It is well known that the Pershing II has twice the range of the Pershing I.

The extreme accuracy of these missiles and their short flying time (around 4 minutes) does in fact make them first strike weapons. The SS-20 on the other hand cannot reach U.S. territory.

Therefore the Soviet Union considers that the NATO decision to deploy 572 new missiles means that the United States will acquire a new European component in its nuclear strategy with the task of ensuring that the United States cannot be hit by a retaliatory strike from the Soviet Union. This component dangerously lowers the so-called nuclear threshold.

In this situation the Soviet Union proposes--as a first step toward solving the problem--a moratorium on medium-range missiles in Europe. I would answer those who reject this idea or demand Soviet "counterconcessions" in return for Western compliance with the moratorium by quoting a pronouncement by the well-known West German publicist Theo Sommer, a man who in other respects has not voiced opposition to the Brussels decision. He writes: "Those in the West who reject the moratorium plan proposed by Moscow using the excuse that it 'fixes' the Soviet superiority achieved with the SS-20 missiles are consciously and willingly accepting the fact that without this moratorium this superiority will grow in the next 2-3 years."

In the Soviet view a moratorium would make it easier to start negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the Euromissiles. These negotiations should take place side by side with the negotiations on the forward-based U.S. nuclear arms in Europe and in close connection with these deliberations.

It is no exaggeration to say that Washington is slow in its reaction to the Soviet proposals for a renewed and constructive disarmament dialogue. It is true that Secretary of State Haig recently gave his approval to negotiations on the Euromissiles but at the same time he made a number of reservations which could easily be used to delay the negotiations. Is this what we have a right to expect from a country which really is worried by another country's military preparations? And all the while there come from Washington indications of new grants for comprehensive military programs for many years to come.

You cannot help wondering whether it really is pacifism which is threatening the West to such an extent. Or is it something else perhaps?

SHISHLIN EXAMINES NATO DECISION, MILITARY BALANCE

LD301230 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0445 GMT 30 Jul 81

["Current Problems in International Life" program: "A Document of Historic Significance"; presented by Nikolay Shishlin, international affairs journalist]

[Excerpts] The sixth anniversary of the completion of the work of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was held in the Finnish capital at the level of heads of state and government, is, of course, a serious reason for reflection on both European and international affairs. The first question to arise when one returns in one's memory to the time of the Helsinki Final Act and the moment of its adoption--the first thought and first question is: Was it a one-time manifestation of good will by the representatives of the 35 states or something more substantial? It was certainly infinitely more serious than a one-time manifestation of good will.

Of course, the situation in Europe today leaves things to be desired. There are many reasons why detente has slowed down. It has slowed down primarily in such an important area as military detente. Political detente, to put it bluntly, was not supported by military detente, apart from the application of certain confidence measures in the military sphere.

But of course, the heaviest weight on European relations, on the horizon of European and international politics, was the decision by Washington and NATO to produce and deploy new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles on the territory of a number of West European states. This decision was formulated by NATO in, as it were, a (?flexible) manner. It is envisaged that on the one hand the NATO side will engage in the production and deployment of new U.S. missiles aimed at the socialist countries, but on the other, so they say, NATO will start talks with the Soviet Union in order to find a solution that might be able to change the NATO decision to some extent. Well, they have quite firmly forgotten about this second link in Washington and up to the last few months there has been very little talk of this second link of the NATO decision compared to the first part of the decision--the production and deployment of missiles.

Citing the fact that the Soviet Union, so they say, by deploying its SS-20 missiles--as they call them in the West--is violating the military balance in medium-range nuclear weapons, NATO, so they say, has the right to restore the balance--to acquire in its turn all these U.S. Pershings and Tomahawks. But the real picture is far removed from the assertions of the NATO circles. The Soviet Union is indeed producing a modernized version of its medium-range missiles. But as each new missile is installed, old missiles are being dismantled and are not being reinstalled in any part of the Soviet Union.

If one compares carriers of medium-range nuclear arms, an approximate balance exists here between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Each side has approximately 1,000 carriers. As for nuclear charges, NATO here indeed has a certain superiority over the Warsaw Pact, and this superiority, according to fairly accurate calculations, can be measured in figures that show it to have an advantage of the order of one and a half times. In the event of the implementation of the NATO decision, there can be no question of any military balance since in that case NATO will obtain a superiority in carriers also.

That is why the NATO decision represents an extremely dangerous stimulus for a new spiral in the arms race. That is why at present in Western Europe the antimissile movement is expanding. That is also why the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are insistently in favor of nuclear disarmament, of businesslike, serious talks leading to practical results. Here is the knot which, if untied, can open further space for developing the process whose beginning was laid 6 years ago in the Finnish capital.

The Helsinki process was not cancelled, of course, by the NATO decision. Over the past months intensive meetings of Soviet leaders with European political figures have shown that not one of the European capitals wants the continent to be transformed into a theater of military actions.

COOPERATION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES FOR PEACE URGED

PM310946 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 81 pp 4-5

[V. Zagladin article: "Communists and Peace"]

[Text] The 1980's will occupy a special place in the history of mankind. In fact it is precisely during this decade that the question of averting a world thermonuclear catastrophe must be resolved. There can be no doubt that everything necessary must be done to prevent it breaking out.

It is true that the West sometimes claims that Soviet people, in advancing this thesis, are exaggerating and groundlessly sowing alarm. And they are supposed to be doing this for the sake of achieving some kind of egoistical aims of their own. An absurd thesis! Anyone with even a little knowledge of the nature of nuclear weapons and the consequences of their use cannot fail to realize that the dangerousness of nuclear war has no parallels.

Indeed, of all political currents it was precisely the communists and the CPSU that were the first to declare publicly that nuclear missile war is a lethal threat and that it must not be allowed. This thesis is contained in all the collective documents of the communist movement formulated in the postwar years. It is supported by virtually all fraternal parties.

It must be said bluntly that the formulation of the question of the danger of nuclear war, of the need to avert it and then exclude it from the life of society, is a great service by the communist movement. In the acute and clear formulation of this question the humanist essence of the ideas of communism and the inseparable connection between the workers movement and the struggle for lasting peace were manifested once again with great force.

The need for resolute struggle against the threat of nuclear war increased sharply at the beginning of the 1980's. It was precisely at this period that the U.S. ruling circles, and together with them the NATO alliance leaders, abruptly shifted the emphasis in their policy and turned sharply toward fueling tension, confrontation and the arms race. The reasons for this were exhaustively revealed by the 26th CPSU Congress. It was shown that it is a question of a reaction by capitalism to the comprehensive difficulties which it is experiencing. For the sake of strengthening their positions and for the sake of their narrow, selfish aims, imperialist forces are pursuing an adventurist policy and are prepared to gamble with the vital interests of mankind. In the final analysis they want to erect a barrier in the way of progressive changes in the world and to regain their lost role as rulers of the peoples' destinies.

It is perfectly natural that the present turnabout in imperialism's policy should be meeting with sharp and growing mass resistance all over the world. The representatives of the most varied social and political forces are rebuffing this course.

The front of the struggle for peace is now broader than ever. However, as in the past, the communists play a special role in this front. As the revolutionary vanguard of the workers movement, the communists parties well remember the lessons of the past. As is well known, imperialism was able to unleash World War I not least because the workers movement, which potentially had great antiwar possibilities but was infected with the sickness of opportunism, proved incapable of pitting against the activity of monopoly capital and militarist circles its own will and determination not to allow war.

Before World War II anticommunism played an especially dismal role. It infected considerable sectors of the workers movement and paralyzed the will of the social democratic masses. And the communists too committed certain [izvestnyy] errors of a sectarian nature, which were discussed back at the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935. As a result, the workers movement was again unable to erect a dam in the way of the approaching war.

Communist and workers parties are fully determined to learn lessons from the past and to do everything to ensure that this time the working class proves equal to its historic possibilities. Here they are taking account of the positive changes which have happened in the world, including within the workers movement itself.

Above all, in the last decade the possibilities of the communist movement itself have grown considerably. Its numerical strength has increased (from 3 to 5 million people in the nonsocialist world alone); its influence has grown. In several countries--and the number of such countries is growing--the communists have become a universally recognized national force.

As the 26th CPSU Congress noted, the communist and workers parties reached the start of the 1980's "as active fighters for working people's rights and for the peoples' peace and security." Indeed all Marxist-Leninist communist parties resolutely advocate averting war, continuing detente and consolidating world peace. There are virtually no differences of opinion between them here.

Today, however, the situation has also changed within the ranks of social democracy. Over the last decade the Socialist International and many parties belonging to it have made a definite swing in their policy and have begun to advocate ensuring world peace and ending the arms race. It will be recalled that this was what the 1978 Helsinki Socialist International conference was devoted to. Within the Socialist International framework there is a working group on disarmament problems led by K. Sorsa, leader of Finnish Social Democrats. For his part O. Palme, chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Labor Party, heads an independent commission on disarmament to which politicians of various countries, including distinguished representatives of the social democratic movement, belong.

It is important that the Socialist International, advocting peace, has removed several obstacles to contacts with communist parties. Thus CPSU representatives were invited at the time to the Socialist International conference on disarmament. K. Sorsa's working group and the commission headed by O. Palme have visited the Soviet Union and have had effective talks with the CPSU leadership. K. Sorsa and O. Palme were received by L.I. Brezhnev. The recent meeting between L.I. Brezhnev and W. Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, was of great political significance.

Yet another circumstance which distinguishes the present state of affairs from what happened in the past is the stance of trade unions. The leading trade union associations of all trends, including the WFTU, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Confederation of Labor, are now speaking out in favor of peace and detente and against the arms race. Of course, the specific formulations of questions by particular organizations may differ from one another. There is, however, the unconditional possibility of cooperation and of finding a common language of many questions.

All this, taken together, shows that there exists today a real possibility of turning the workers movement into an insuperable barrier on the path of the forces of war. It is a question of turning this possibility into a reality. What is needed for this? The answer is provided by the practice of the communist movement and the whole of international development.

A most important condition for success in the struggle against the danger of war is the might of the socialist community. It is precisely the socialist community, as experience has shown, which plays an extremely influential and beneficial role in both European and international affairs as a whole. It is precisely the socialist countries which paved the way for the all-European conference and since its completion have put forward a number of new initiatives, which have attracted wide attention in the world. "Today," L.I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress, "it is perfectly obvious that the Soviet Union and its allies are now more than ever the chief support of peace on earth."

The communist parties of all regions of the world have repeatedly stressed in their documents in recent years that if today there exists new possibilities for the struggle for peace and socialism and more successful headway along the path of social progress, this is primarily thanks to the existence and constant strengthening of the socialist states. In the light of what has been said, it is clear that the correct way to further increase the possibilities for the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress is primarily to strengthen world socialism.

But the statements of certain comrades who come out with unobjective criticism of socialism and in essence question its historic achievements can hardly serve this purpose. Whatever the motives these comrades are guided by, in fact they are playing into the hands of imperialist propaganda.

The attempts of certain representatives of democratic forces to equate the foreign policies of socialism and imperialism or the Warsaw Pact and NATO have a still greater negative significance. This kind of approach is not simply incorrect or unjust. It effectively glosses over the question of the struggle against the real source of the threat of war--imperialism--disorients the popular masses and weakens their peace-loving potential.

The real experience of recent years also shows clearly enough that a necessary condition of success in the struggle for peace and social progress is the strengthening of all peace-loving Asian, African and Latin American states and, of course, resolute support for those countries which advocate peace most consistently. It is primarily the revolutionary democratic states--whose consistent anti-imperialist and peace-loving course is an important characteristic feature of their policy--that rank among such countries.

Revolutionary solidarity with the peoples who have freed themselves from the colonial yoke and wish to build a new society based on the principles of social progress and to advance toward socialism is a real factor for peace under modern conditions. Such solidarity is conistently pursued by the socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist communist parties. All the collective documents of the communist movement and the materials of particular fraternal parties speak of its importance.

It is obvious that actions with a different character and the rejection of revolutionary solidarity with peoples struggling for their freedom, and especially with peoples forced to rebuff imperialism and reaction by armed means, can only cause great harm both to the cause of social progress and to world peace. For this kind of approach is effectively tantamount to nothing other than indirect support for those sociopolitical forces which attack young revolutionary democratic regimes.

The motives for which some representatives of leftwing forces occupy such positions are diverse. Sometimes they claim that active support for revolutionary democratic countries may harm the cause of peace since the corresponding actions are used by reactionary and imperialist forces as a pretext for fueling tension. Such attempts are indeed made. But does this mean that as a result it is necessary to reject internationalist solidarity? Nothing of the sort.

It is precisely in the present conditions, in view of the extent of the danger of military conflicts, that it is necessary to considerably step up the struggle against the imperialist policy of exporting counterrevolution and the struggle to prevent interference by imperialist and reactionary forces in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples.

Furthermore, practice has convincingly shown that an important factor for strengthening peace is cooperation among communist parties and their active collaboration in the struggle against imperialism and militarism.

A good example of this cooperation was provided by the 1967 Karlovy Vary European communist conference, whose decisions were implemented, which promoted the profound positive changes on our continent in the 1970's and later the Berlin conference (1976) of the continent's communist and workers parties and their meeting in Paris in 1980. An important role in this regard has been played by the regional meetings of Western Europe's communists devoted to the struggle against the consequences of the economic crisis, and the meetings of the fraternal parties of the Latin American countries, the Arab countries and tropical Africa.

It is true that recently the opinion has repeatedly been put forward that joint activity by the communist movement and coordination of action among fraternal parties, including in the form of collective meetings, are apparently not necessary. Various arguments are cited in favor of this stance. For example, it is sometimes said that the conditions of the fraternal parties' activity have become too diverse for it to be possible to coordinate it in any way and to channel it in a single direction, even when it is a case of joint action on a specific question. Another argument is the opinion that any joint meeting is in the final analysis an embryo organization and that the time for international organizations of communists is long gone, or so the argument runs. Finally the argument is cited whereby the main thing is each party's activity in its own sector, in its own country. Everything else is, so to speak, a derivative of only secondary importance.

One can try to understand each of these arguments. And each of them contains a grain of truth. Thus, for example, the parties' working conditions really are extremely different. And of course it is in no way admissible to standardize their policy. Just as there is no need, either to create some sort of organizational center of the communist movement. Incidentally, nobody is actually calling for this. It is also indisputable that every party must be fully responsible to its people and do everything to ensure their well-being.

Nonetheless all these circumstances are certainly not evidence that cooperation between fraternal parties is impossible or unnecessary. In fact the danger of nuclear war exists quite independently of the diversity of national conditions. Averting such a war is in keeping with the basic interests of every people. Continuing detente and carrying out measures to end the arms race are necessary elements in every communist party's national policy.

And the recognition of this is in no way a call to standardize or unify communists' policy. Just as discussion and the organization of cooperation between communists on questions of war and peace can in no way be regarded as the creation of an organization of fraternal parties.

It is a question of something quite different--the need for communists to recognize the existing disturbing reality and their manifestation of their responsibility for mankind's present and future while fully maintaining the independence, self-sufficiency and equal rights of each communist party.

One other argument against cooperation among communists which has been put forward quite actively of late is the opinion that since the most varied forces are now active in the struggle for peace, it is incorrect to organize cooperation in the struggle for peace among communists alone--we must concern ourselves with cooperation in this regard among all who are ready to fight against war. It is sometimes added that strengthening cooperation among communists may even impose the cause of peace, since it may be understood by others as an endeavor by the communist parties to stand apart, to shut themselves off in their own environment and to pursue a sectarian line in relation to the other fighters against war. All this, however, cannot fail to arouse objections.

Indeed, during the 1970's communists of Eastern and Western Europe and the continent as a whole got together more than once to discuss the problems interesting them. Did these meetings hinder cooperation between the fraternal parties and other political forces? No, they were not a hindrance. On the contrary, it is precisely the 1970's which were marked by the specially active development of such cooperation, primarily in the struggle for peace.

And what is more, practice shows that it is precisely the socialist countries' communist parties--which openly and consistently advocate the coordination of actions among communists and actually carry out such coordination both among themselves and with the fraternal parties of other regions of the world--that have achieved the most success in developing cooperation with other political forces, primarily social democracy.

The overwhelming majority of detachments of the communist movement are now waging a selfless struggle to avert war and to liquidate the mortal threat which has emerged for mankind and its future. The numerous fraternal party congresses held in recent years are evidence of this. In 1978-80 alone--that is, in the period when peace came up against a increase in the activity of aggressive imperialist forces--there were about 30 congresses of fraternal parties of all regions of the world. And it must be said that their participants were of one mind: The duty of communists is to rebuff the policy of war and to persistently advocate the peaceful resolution of existing problems. The communist parties are implementing these decisions.

The socialist countries' communists and, of course, our party--the CPSU--are carrying out tremendous, varied and highly effective work in the struggle for peace. In the period since the 26th congress alone Comrade L.I. Brezhnev has come out with a number of new ideas and proposals, which have attracted really worldwide attention.

The FRG communists are actively participating in the struggle against the threat of war. They are among the most active fighters against the deployment on their country's territory of new U.S. nuclear missiles. They are pressing for the urgent holding of talks to save Europe from a dangerous new round in the arms race.

The communists of Belgium and the Netherlands are carrying out great work in their countries aimed at saving them from the U.S. missile threat. They are implementing a number of initiatives and seeking the greatest possible expansion in the number of participants in the antimissile demonstrations.

The communists of northern Europe are actively advocating its transformation into a nuclear-free zone. The ideas proposed by L.I. Brezhnev in his interview with the newspaper SUOMEN SOSIALIDEMOKRAATTI met with unconditional support from them.

The communists of Greece and Cyprus demand a peaceful resolution of all the problems of the eastern Mediterranean including the Cyprus problem.

The Spanish communists are doing everything to prevent their country joining the aggressive NATO bloc.

The communists of South and Central America unanimously are demanding an end to American interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador, Nicaragua and other countries of their continent.

The communist parties of Asia are mounting a broad campaign of solidarity with the peoples of the Indochina countries, who are fighting against imperialism and Chinese hegemonism.

An important role in coordinating the communists' work in the struggle for peace is being played by the meeting of the leading figures from 67 press organs of the fraternal parties of all continents, held in Moscow of the initiative of the newspaper PRAVDA.

In short, the communist parties are indeed acting as consistent fighters for peace for all the peoples.

The dialectic of social life is such that at the present stage of world development questions of the struggle for peace and social progress are interconnected in the closest possible manner. The communists' strength is that they understand this dialectic, take account of its demands and reflect it in their policy. The CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th congress said: "Communists' consistent struggle for peace and against the aggressive policy of imperialism and the arms race, which threatens the peoples with nuclear catastrophe, is of great unifying principle and a powerful factor making for the further cohesion of the world communist movement and the growth of its prestige.

"The main thing is that communists, armed with the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, see more profoundly and more correctly than anyone the essence and future prospects of the processes going on the world and draw from this the correct conclusions for their struggle in the interests of the working class and the working people of their countries, and for democracy, peace and socialism."

And this is the guarantee of the success in the struggle of all mankind for lasting peace and for its own future.

ATTEMPTS TO LINK TALKS WITH POLAND CRITICIZED

LD310900 Moscow in Polish to Poland 1800 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] As is well-known, American leaders condition the success of negotiations for strategic arms limitation and the stationing of nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe on many unrealistic demands. For instance, high-ranking officials representing the American administration during many interviews and speeches practically threatened torpedoing these talks if the events in Poland did not develop in the direction that suited the United States. In this connection, Lev Shimulko, deputy chairman of the Disarmament Commission of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, says:

During the entire period that has elapsed since the current American administration has taken over power, the United States has not made a single realistic step to limit either strategic weapons or medium-range missiles. On the contrary, under various pretexts Americans delay starting such a dialogue, even though the Soviet Union is ready to start negotiations at any moment, as Soviet leaders have said more than once. Among those pretexts, the term linkage often comes up, which in the language of the American administration means making negotiations with the Soviet Union dependent upon the attitude of the land of the soviets in other spheres. Of course, such an approach to the matter--euphemistically speaking--is useless in solving international problems.

Incidentally, such a trick is nothing new, after all, the former American administration often searched for reasons to justify its own lack of desire to begin honest negotiations with the Soviet Union. As we know, Jimmy Carter's administration linked its refusal to ratify SALT II with events in Afghanistan. Only recently American Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced for all to hear: Many people maintain that SALT II stumbled over Afghanistan. This is absolutely not true: The failure of ratification was due to the lack of unanimity in the American [illegible]ate and the House of Representatives.

Now American leaders strive to link the prospect [illegible]or arms reduction negotiations with the development of events in Poland. In other words, Washington tries to dictate to the Polish Government what it should do--and what it must not do--to normalize the country's situation. Socialist countries linked by most varied ties are being dictated to fro[illegible] across the ocean as to how they should shape their mutual relations. Such a policy has many obvious goals: We see in it, of course, Washington's attempts to drive a wedge into Polish-Soviet friendship and to throw a shadow on the fraternal relations of the socialist camp. We also see in it an attempt to encourage, to support the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland with the hope that they will finalize the erosion of the socialist camp begun by imperialism. After all, it is primarily from the United States that the threads lead to the Polish creeping revolution which would like to turn back the wheel of historic development, masking its perfidious actions with the slogan of renewal, speculating on the sincere desire of the Poles to liberate themselves from the burden of past mistakes.

The so-called policy of linkage led by Washington is the policy of blackmail and pressure on the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community. In fact, it is the demand that they do not even lift a finger in response to imperialist plots, that they give up their sacred duties of defending the community. In short, the United States demands that the socialist countries surrender all their positions based on their principles concerning foreign policy. However, American politicians miscalculate their reasoning. The Soviet Union in its policy takes as a starting point, and will continue to take into account, not the American ideas on the code of international relations, but the rules contained in the UN Charter, in the Helsinki Final Act, in the documents agreed upon with other states, and in the alliance pledges toward the countries of the socialist community.

The Soviet Union is for the immediate start of talks with the United States over a broad field of problems, above all arms limitation. We simply consider it impermissible to introduce mutual links between negotiations and problems which have nothing to do with them. Similarly unacceptable are attempts at directing the development of events in socialist Poland into a movement desirable to the United States, moreover by speculating on the desire of peoples for peace.

On the other hand, if U.S. and NATO leaders, USSR Minister of Defense Dmitriy Ustinov wrote in PRAVDA, do not take up the proposed possibility to reach agreement on the issues of political and military detente, an improvement in relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the construction of a base for mutual confidence, they will take upon themselves the responsibility toward the people of their own countries and all of mankind.

COMMENTARY RAPS WASHINGTON USE OF 'CHINA CARD'

PM310859 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 81 p 5

[Political observer Vitaliy Korionov article: "Dangerous Embrace"]

[Text] There was a time when American expansionists and Chinese hegemonists considered it necessary to camouflage their course--which is hostile to peace--toward establishing American-Chinese partnership and the true aims of this cooperation. The camouflage is now being cast off. Washington and Beijing politicians are, as it were, vying with each other to see who will be best as "selling" this "commodity" to the listening and reading public.

Recently, the not unknown Zbigniew Brezezinski, who in his time has made so many efforts so that Washington might start actively playing the "China card," has performed the role of such a fairground huckster. This politician, who is now at loose ends, is striving to use every opportunity to keep people aware of himself and of his role in this unseemly matter.

Recently Brzezinski completed a so-called "private visit" to Beijing. The ruling Chinese Defense Minister Geng Biao met with him and then the office doors of the de facto ruler of China, Deng Xiaoping, were flung open to the visitor. The old friends kowtowed to each other and tried to outdo each other in the courtesies.

After this a press conference was hurriedly called for the transatlantic guest. Deng Xiaoping and I, Brzezinski declared, have arrived at "common agreement on Chinese-American relations and on the strategic situation in the world." The visitor did not even consider it necessary to conceal how far removed the basis of such "commonality" is from the interests of universal peace.

It is a question, the representative of the American "hawks" stated frankly, of the creation, in essence, of a coalition between the United States, China and Japan. Flying into a passion, Brzesinski decided to include Western Europe in this "coalition" too.

But the main thing for the former White House "number two" is the "common interests" of the United States and China. We are united, Brzezinski said with assurance, by "bonds of interest." Of what does this "interest" consist? It transpires that it consists primarily of an expansion of the Washington-Beijing military partnership, which the transatlantic politically smart dealer prefers to call "relations in the security sphere." However, even he does not believe in this camouflage and explains: These relations "may assume various forms and I would not begin to underestimate in this connection the importance of military contacts, constant consultations on questions of strategy and information exchange."

The Los Angeles TIMES specified: Calling China nothing else than an "extremely friendly country," Brzezinski has called "for the expansion of all forms of strategic and military cooperation, including information exchange and comparison of intelligence analyses" with regard to the Soviet Union.

As is known, such "contacts" and "cooperation" are already finding practical embodiment in the accord on modern weapons deliveries from the United States to China and also in the emplacement on Chinese territory of tracking stations for espionage against the Soviet Union, the information from which, as the American press reports, goes to the Pentagon too.

At approximately the same time as Brzezinski was waxing eloquent at the press conference on the results of his meeting with Deng Xiaoping, the latter, when receiving the chairman of the board of directors and president of the Hong Kong newspaper MING PAI, told him of those same "principles" of Beijing's policy. The only difference was that this was done in a rather more veiled way.

The revelations of the creators of the American-Chinese "alliance" cannot fail to attract the people's close attention for it is a matter of dangerous new plans against world peace and the freedom of peoples.

KORNILOV ATTACKS VOA 'LIARS' ON AFGHANISTAN

LD301222 Moscow TASS in English 1127 GMT 30 Jul 81

[By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jul, TASS--It is common knowledge that Voice of America broadcasts are not strong on accuracy and authenticity, to put it mildly. This has been illustrated anew by this morning's broadcast of the government-run U.S. radio station, which announced that TASS had supposedly rejected another initiative on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. Where did they take this "sensation" from? Apparently from... my commentary "Is Pessimism Justified?" released by our news agency yesterday. There is an interesting picture emerging: A TASS news analyst "rejects settlement," and Voice of America, this upright and objective "news source," believes it to be its duty to tell the world about this without delay.

Meantime, this "objective information" we are talking about is in fact misinformation, moreover, deliberate and malicious misinformation.

What did the TASS commentary--written in connection with the forthcoming visit of a UN envoy to Pakistan--say? It stressed that the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan is possible and necessary and that the path to this settlement is open: A good basis for it is provided by the well-known proposals of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The only thing needed to follow this path is goodwill and firm renunciation of the attempts to impose on the Afghan people old feudal ways.

But this goodwill is not forthcoming from those Western circles, above all the U.S., which have been trying so hard to create the so-called "Afghan problem." Conversely, those circles are doing whatever they can to complicate and exacerbate this problem and to perpetuate the seat of tension in the region. There was a time when the Pakistani Government was inclined to enter into bilateral talks with the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to settle the situation around that country. And what happened? Hardly had Washington heard about it when the U.S. (backed by Britain) immediately brought into play various forms of pressure, forcing Islamabad to slip back to its former positions and decline both bilateral Pakistani-Afghan contacts and talks with the participation of the UN secretary-general or his envoy. That was what took place during the previous visit of a UN representative to Pakistan. Now that the UN secretary-general's representative is going to pay another visit to Kabul and Islamabad, the U.S. administration is again going out of its way to prevent a political settlement.

As for the other "Western initiatives" on the "Afghan problem" such as the so-called "initiative of a group of EEC countries" extensively publicized by the self-same Voice of America, those circles in Washington and London which engineered this "initiative" knew in advance that it was quite unrealistic and unacceptable and could not provide a basis for talks. The formulation of this "initiative" and stubborn efforts to push it through can hardly be viewed as anything but another attempt to complicate and aggravate rather than ease the situation around Afghanistan.

That was precisely what the TASS commentary in question said, and it is these parts of the commentary that Voice of America completely--and deliberately--passed over in silence.

What is more, this "objective" government-run American radio station, holding forth on the "Afghan problem," ignored as usual the main point (which, of course, was discussed in the TASS commentary): The reason for the emergence of this "problem" is that the U.S. and some of its NATO allies, as well as Beijing, trying to neutralise the achievements of the Afghan revolution, have unleashed and are carrying on a veritable undeclared war against the sovereign Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This war is an integral aspect of the global foreign policy course pursued by the present Washington administration, which has set out to disrupt the existing balance of forces in the military-strategic sphere and to change the course of world development. Washington uses the pretext of the so-called "Afghan problem" as all but its main trump-card in a bid to justify its patently aggressive plans and actions, although it is common knowledge that U.S. policy turned from detente to confrontation, to thwarting detente and stability and to banking on the attainment of military superiority without any connection with the events in Afghanistan and, moreover, long before those events.

We have pointed out above, that Voice of America broadcasts are not strong on authenticity. But this, indeed, is putting it mildly. Facts show that out-and-out liars have dug themselves in at this little-respected radio station.

GROMYKO ARTICLE ON COOPERATION WITH INDIA

LD301408 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] New Delhi, 30 Jul, TASS--Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko has written an article in the magazine SOVIET LAND, published in India, devoted to the 10th anniversary of the signing of the treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and India, observed on August 9.

Having consolidated all the positive elements that were accumulated over years and have become a good tradition in relations between the USSR and India, Andrey Gromyko writes, the treaty has built a firm political and legal basis for the further development of these relations in accordance with the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the domestic affairs of each other, equality and mutual benefit.

The past decade has made it perfectly clear that the Soviet-Indian treaty fully justifies its aim, that the onward march on its basis of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India meets the basic national interests of both states as well as the interests of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The present state of relations between our countries, Andrey Gromyko points out, is characterized by wide-scale and dynamic development, by a great range of spheres of cooperation. These relations are distinguished by a high degree of stability and balance under the most different political situation.

For the first time in history Soviet-Indian relations have shown quite a lot of what has now become typical of our relations with countries which have cast off the colonial yoke.

These relations are a graphic illustration of the translation into reality of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social system. At the same time, they are a major element of the powerful front of solidarity of socialist and non-aligned countries, a front which rebuffs the aggressive policy of the most reactionary quarters of imperialism and the great-power ambitions of the Beijing hegemonists, and which hampers their activity aimed against peace, freedom and independence of the peoples.

Speaking about the worsening of the international atmosphere which began in the late seventies, the Soviet minister placed direct responsibility for that on the bellicose forces of international reaction which have taken the course of whipping up the arms race and building up tension in the world, the course of grossly violating the legitimate rights and interests of sovereign states, of mobilizing every possible means for fighting against the peoples' struggle for national and social progress.

The trends expressing themselves in the open widening of the military aspects of partnership between Beijing and Washington in the international arena, which have been gaining momentum in U.S.-Chinese relations, lead to heightened tension in the situation in the Far East and in the world as a whole.

"We shall duly take into account the U.S.-Chinese approchement on a basis hostile to the USSR in the context of our relations with the United States and China," Andrey Gromyko points out. "The Soviet Union will take all measures which will be dictated by the course of developments. No one should have any doubt that the Soviet states will be able to defend itself and its allies and friends."

Another example is the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Armed incursions into Afghan territory, primarily from Pakistan, which is being encouraged by the United States and China, are continuing. Pakistan is ever more noticeably sliding in its policy to a road which causes justified concern on the part of its neighbors.

A real rather than imaginary threat to Pakistan emanates from the current political line of its leadership. This line is bound to involve that country in the policies of Washington and Beijing which intend to turn Pakistan into a bridgehead pointing in a certain sense against the USSR, and the countries of south-west and South Asia.

The article says that the Persian Gulf area and the Indian Ocean are becoming an increasingly more dangerous seat of international tension. An armada of U.S. warships has been concentrated there. The USA, which is increasing its military presence there, is expanding existing and attempting to set up new military bases in the area. Naturally, this gives cause for alarm especially to the coastal states. The Soviet Union strongly condemns the U.S. militaristic machinations and supports the Indian Ocean countries' proposal to turn that area into a zone of peace, into a zone of peace, not an area of some special U.S. interests.

Recalling other proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union designed to strengthen peace and security, effect disarmament, stabilize and deepen detente and develop peaceful cooperation with all the countries, the Soviet minister stressed once again the Soviet Union's readiness to cooperate with all the interested states in resolving these pressing problems.

AFGHAN OFFICIAL ON EFFORTS AGAINST REBELS

LD070639 Moscow TASS in English 0554 GMT 7 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 7 Jul, TASS--The main task of the National Patriotic Front is to unite the patriots of the country, their willpower, energy and efforts in the name of the common cause--construction of prosperous Afghanistan, Chairman of the National Committee of the National Patriotic Front Saleh Mohammad Ziray said in an interview with SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

He said that one of the major tasks facing the Afghan people is "to defeat counter-revolution which, relying on the assistance of the United States, China and other reactionary forces, interferes in our domestic affairs, prevents the people from working and living in the way they want. That is why the National Patriotic Front regards as one of its basic functions the organisation of the people for a resolute rebuff to the forces which, using weapons and lie and slander, are trying to reverse the development of the national democratic revolution and threaten the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country and peace in the region."

Saleh Mohammad Ziray said that the creative work accomplished by the masses has already produced "tangible results along the major directions of national democratic transformation. This made it possible to normalize and stabilize the overall situation in the country and improve the system of supplying the population with food, goods and fuel."

Dwelling on the tasks of the national patriotic front on the international arena, Saleh Mohamad Ziray said:

"Afghanistan's peace foreign policy is known to the whole world. Speeches at the congress convincingly showed that the participants in the front unanimously support the government's policy in the field of international relations. This policy is directed at ensuring peaceful coexistence, detente, settling outstanding issues between neighbouring countries politically and consolidating cooperation between them"

USSR, SRV SIGN TRADE AGREEMENT FOR 1981-85

LD301624 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] The Soviet Union and Vietnam have signed an agreement on trade for 1981 to 1985. The signing took place in Moscow on Thursday. Trade between the two countries is to expand by 90 percent. The Soviet Union will increase shipments of oil products, fertilizers, motor vehicles, road construction machines and equipment.

Vietnam, in turn, will increase exports of coffee, tea, vegetables and fruit. Just as in the previous years, the Soviet Union will deliver cotton, wool and medicinal plants to be processed in Vietnam and returned as finished products.

The Soviet Union has signed 5-year trade agreements with nearly all of its partners in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

Meeting With Arkhipov

OW291557 Hanoi VNA in English 1453 GMT 29 Jul 81

[Text] Hanoi, 29 Jul, VNA--I.V. Arkhipov, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and first vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, yesterday received a Vietnamese government economic delegation led by Le Khac, alternate member of the Communist Party of Vietnam and minister of foreign trade.

The delegation was in Moscow to sign agreements on economic and technological cooperation and on commodity trade with the Soviet Union for the period 1981 to 1985.

Le Khac thanked the Soviet party, government and people, and President L.I. Brezhnev for their great assistance to the Vietnamese people in socialist construction and national defence.

NOVOYE VREMYA DISCUSSES POLISH SITUATION

PM311053 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 30, 24 Jul 81 pp 5-6

[Article by N. Legantsev: "Poland: A Once and For All Choice"]

[Text] People's Poland is celebrating the 37th anniversary of its socialist development at a time when the country is experiencing a serious crisis. The reasons for this crisis and the ways and means of surmounting it have just been thoroughly and specifically discussed at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Today's tasks--difficult and urgent tasks--may at first glance overshadow to some extent the results of the work and struggle of the Polish working people headed by the communists for nearly four decades. But under present conditions it is perhaps doubly, trebly important not to restrict yourself to noting the state of affairs but to look at the entire great, complex route which socialist Poland has travelled since the Day of Rebirth. This is essential not only for the sake of the interests of historical truth--it is essential in order to have a correct idea of the horizons of the Polish state's future development.

That is why it seems perfectly natural that the subject of what Poland was like 37 years ago and what it has now become was heard frequently during the keen, sometimes dramatic speeches by the Ninth PZPR Congress delegates.

Work of unprecedented complexity fell to the lot of socialism, which took its first steps on Polish soil in July 1944. The country lost 6 million citizens. All Polish cities and villages bore the scars of war. The state's capital, Warsaw, lay in ruins. But there was light in this tragic picture. Victory was approaching, the soldiers of victory, the sons of the Soviet Union and Poland, were marching along Polish roads from east to west. Every position had to be taken in battle, and over 600,000 Soviet servicemen remained forever, laid to rest in Polish soil.

Soviet-Polish friendship in labor, socialist creation and joint work to implement Marxist-Leninist ideals, took over from this wartime brotherhood.

In the West a great deal is currently being said and written about Poland as almost some kind of "sick society." Yet in fact Poland today, thanks to socialism, has a powerful economic potential. The country has reached 2d place in Europe in terms of coal extraction, 2d place in terms of sulfur extraction, 9th place in terms of steel and copper production and 10th place in terms of electricity and automobile production.

Using the vast Soviet market and the markets of the other socialist countries, Poland has been able to substantially expand its machinebuilding industry, which includes the production of mining and power equipment, hoisting and transportation equipment, rolling stock, machine tool building, aircraft, shipbuilding and other sectors.

Take the Polish aircraft industry, for instance. It began from virtually nothing in People's Poland. Yet today Poland is the largest exporter of aircraft for agricultural needs. In cooperation with the Soviet Union it takes part in the production of a number of other types of aircraft.

There is a similar picture in shipbuilding. It is well known that in recent years the shipbuilding industry in many countries has been cutting back production because of the unfavorable economic situation. This does not apply to Polish shipyards, which have a solid backlog of orders, above all Soviet orders.

The Polish economy has progressed confidently as a socialist economy. Cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries has had a tangible effect on its upsurge.

Soviet deliveries of oil and petroleum products, cotton, lumber and many complex pieces of machinery and mechanisms and Soviet specialists' direct participation in the installation of Polish industrial centers have been powerful accelerators of the development of the Polish economy.

Speaking at the ninth congress, S. Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said: "Throughout the postwar years the USSR has confirmed its internationalist approach, rendering us priceless aid, particularly at difficult moments. The Soviet Union has shown in practice that a powerful, friendly, socialist Poland accords with its interests."

The establishment of socialism on Polish soil proceeded alongside the establishment and development of socialist democracy. Never before had the Polish workers, peasants and intellectuals had such a broad opportunity for directly participating in the management of state and production affairs. The PZPR acting as the guiding force of society, was concerned for the viability of the other democratic parties and mass organizations of working people. And if in the late seventies and early eighties the country was hit by an acute political and economic crisis, one of the main reasons was the violation of the principles of socialism, the nonobservance of Leninist norms of party life and the disregarding of the general natural laws of socialist development.

The errors and miscalculations must be discussed as they deserve--seriously and responsibly. At the same time this can only be a correct discussion when individual facts and phenomena are viewed against the broad historical background. It is then that it becomes clear that it is not socialism which gave rise to the deep crisis but deviation from important socialist principles which was the source of the upheavals in People's Poland.

In celebrating the Day of Rebirth Poland and the Polish communists also have a right to be proud of such important achievements in socialist development as the flowering of science, culture and art. Poland's great weight in world affairs is also linked with socialism. It is precisely socialism which has given Poland secure borders, while the Polish state's membership in the Warsaw Pact has become an authoritative voice in European and world affairs.

The Ninth PZPR Congress rightly stressed that the most important guarantee of Poland's independence and security and the inviolability of its borders is contained in its alliance with the USSR. The congress cited the correct idea that anyone who undermines this alliance is opposing the foundations of the existence of the people's state. The Polish communists and Polish working people have something to treasure, something to defend. All friends of socialist Poland believe that the party and the Polish people will be able to rebuff the antisocialist forces, will put an end to the chaos and anarchy and, on the paths of socialist development, will achieve a confident new upsurge for the country.

Essentially, of course, the Polish events worry primarily the Polish communists and Polish working people. They want to see Poland stable and strong. And, as the results of the Ninth PZPR Congress show, it is precisely the party which is the only force capable of signposting the way out of the crisis and surmounting it.

As far as can be judged, the decisions of the Polish communists' congress in this respect are focused as it were on several key factors.

The first is to rectify the errors committed in the past. These errors, unfortunately, affected a broad spectrum of problems--from the violation of Leninist norms of party life to an erroneous economic strategy as a result of which profound disproportions emerged in the Polish economy and large debts to the West arose. L.I. Brezhnev drew attention to this aspect of the matter in his speech at the 26th CPSU Congress.

"The events in Poland," L.I. Brezhnev said, "convince us again of how important it is for the party and for the consolidation of its leading role to keenly heed the voice of the masses, resolutely struggle against any manifestations of bureaucratism, actively to develop socialist democracy, and pursue a considered, realistic policy in foreign economic ties."

The second factor is constructive, creative work in the city and countryside. The Polish comrades themselves note that a reduction in material production is taking place, far from full use is being made of the country's potential, and labor productivity and discipline are falling, that is, the overall efficiency of the running of the economy is declining. That is why the task of mobilizing the working people to constructive work emerges from the congress decisions as one of the central tasks.

There can be no doubt that in resolving urgent and long-term tasks of socialist building Poland together with its own resources has a right to count on the potential opened up thanks to the economic collaboration between the fraternal socialist countries. A firm orientation toward the priority use of internal resources and the advantages created by the international socialist division of labor are a reliable way of boosting the economy.

And the third factor (last but not least, as they say) is consistent, firm struggle against antisocialist forces, against the enemies of socialism, whatever guise they adopt. Incidentally, the depth and acuteness of the crisis in Poland are linked not least of all with precisely the unruliness of those elements which see in the disorganization of the economy and social life conditions for the success of creeping counterrevolution. In other words, the concentration of the efforts of the party and Polish working people on the tasks of creation must not be prevented by the actions of internal or external forces alien to the true interests of People's Poland.

But the Polish events are causing concern not only among the Polish communists. They are also worrying socialist Poland's friends. This is active concern. It is expressed in political and other support for the Polish communists and Polish working people. The letter from the CPSU Central Committee to the PZPR Central Committee was an example of this attitude. This attitude was expressed in L.I. Brezhnev's words: "...We shall not abandon socialist Poland, fraternal Poland, in its trouble and we shall not leave it to stand alone!"

The 37th anniversary of rebirth provides rich food for thought, of course. Diverse conclusions suggest themselves. But the main thoughts can be expressed comparatively briefly. They are that only socialism guarantees Poland's prosperity and that only on the basis of socialism is it possible to surmount the present crisis events. And another no less important thought suggests itself--that a good future for socialist Poland is organically linked with the consolidation of its cooperation with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries.

Incidentally, these thoughts were heard repeatedly from the rostrum of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. This enables us to count on People's Poland, with 37 years of experience of socialist development behind it, being able to emerge from the present crisis period and again taking the place in the world which rightfully belongs to it--the place of a firm element of the socialist community and a substantial and influential factor for peace and international security in Europe and throughout the world.

The choice the people made 37 years ago has historically justified itself. It is a once and for all choice.

NINTH EXTRAORDINARY PZPR CONGRESS DOCUMENT CITED

LD301820 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 30 Jul 81

[TASS correspondent's report from Warsaw]

[Text] The decision has been published here of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress which states in part: We have united in the ranks of the party in order to serve the people and the homeland and to build socialism. Internal party life in the PZPR is based on tested Leninist principles, on the making public of political life and on internal party democracy and democratic centralism. The leading and guiding role of a Marxist-Leninist party, the vanguard of the working class, which most fully expresses the vital interests of the whole people, is a necessary condition for the development of socialism in Poland. The right of the PZPR to act as the leading and the guiding force stems from its class character as a party of the working class. The congress expresses itself in favor of an unambiguous strengthening of the worker character of the party in the ideological, programmatic, political and organizational sphere.

The task of the party is the construction of socialism, during which the PZPR guides the working class and the whole of society. An inalienable feature of the party is loyalty to the ideals of patriotism and internationalism. This unity is to be observed in everyday life, an understanding of these principles is to be propagated and their widespread public support is to be struggled for.

The strength of the party, the decision stresses, stems from a loyalty to the ideas and principles of Marxism-Leninism, from the democratic internal party life and the close link with the working class and the people.

The task that the PZPR is faced with cannot be resolved by the strength of the party itself exclusively. Without support from a wide front of the patriotic forces of progress and democracy it is impossible to lead the country out of the crisis.

In examining the qualitative composition of the PZPR, the document points out that the party must unite within its ranks people who stand on the ideological-political positions of Marxism-Leninism, who take an active part in implementing the ideals and aims of socialism and who observe party regulations. The method of educating party members still remains the principle of criticism and self-criticism, the creation of an atmosphere of mutual fastidiousness and a conformity of words and deeds.

The main task of the ideological-education work of the party is to deepen political education and ideological struggle against the adherents of bourgeois history and the attempts to rehabilitate the rightwing groupings and their reactionary concepts.

The congress makes it incumbent upon the party to propagate internationalist viewpoints and to deepen the fraternal bonds of the Polish people with the peoples of the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and the international forces of social progress.

Of key significance for socialist internationalism, for the sovereignty, security and development of Poland is the resolute struggle against various manifestations of nationalism, cosmopolitanism and anti-Soviet tendencies, the struggle against all those who are undermining the trust of allies in our country.

In the section on socialist democracy it points out that the PZPR adheres to the implementation of the idea of popular power [narodovlastiyed], to the full participation of all the citizens of Poland, and especially of the working class, in the management of the state and the national economy.

The congress recognizes the inalienable task of the trade unions to consistently defend the interests and rights of workers. The party believes that the trade unions must not only take part in, but also accept responsibility for increasing the national income and for the formation of economic and social policy.

The congress expresses itself in favor of further deepening cooperation with allied political parties--the Democratic Party and the United Peasant Party--and of deepening relations with the trade unions which are based on socialism.

It is necessary, the document stresses, to mobilize all forces of good sense and responsibility, and all patriots for the struggle against the dangers that are threatening the foundations of socialism, independence and the sovereignty of the state, concepts of dual power and antisocialist activity.

The document examines the tasks of the party on the work of the mass media. The necessity is stressed of strengthening socialist legality and its strict observance and of raising the defense capability of the country.

In stressing the importance of the party's struggle for the socialist upbringing of the young generation, the PZPR appeals to the Union of Socialist Polish Youth to step up efforts to strengthen the political and ideological unity of the young generation, so loyally serve the socialist homeland.

An important factor in overcoming the crisis and leading the Polish economy onto a path of development is the deepening of cooperation with the USSR and the other [CEMA] member-countries. The congress makes it incumbent upon the government, its organs and economic organizations and institutions conscientiously to fulfill the obligations in the bilateral and multilateral agreements in the framework of CEMA.

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress confirms the basic principles of the foreign policy of the party and state--friendship, brotherhood and cooperation and alliance with the USSR and all the socialist states on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, solidarity with peoples struggling for national liberation and social progress, and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The PZPR will continue to further strengthen and expand fraternal relations with the CPSU and the communist and workers parties of the socialist states, take action directed at consolidating the unity of the international communist and workers movement and develop cooperation with fraternal communist parties as well as parties and forces of social progress throughout the world.

A primary task of our foreign policy, the decision states, is the consolidation of the position of Poland in the community of socialist states and the active strengthening of its unity. Poland will continue to make a contribution to the defense and political alliance of the Warsaw Treaty, the implementation of the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist countries, the defense of peace, the consolidation of detente and the development of international cooperation.

At the same time, Poland will resolutely oppose the various manifestations of interference in our internal affairs and the attempts to use our crisis to undermine the bases of the socialist structure and the alliances of Poland with the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

Poland fully supports the important peace initiatives of the 26th CPSU Congress and "The Appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Parliaments and Peoples of the World," which determines the ways for the further struggle for peace, security and detente. These initiatives meet the interests of the world and conform with the vital interests of the Polish people.

KAPITONOV-LED DELEGATION PAYS VISIT TO ERFURT

LD310920 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, headed by Kapitonov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is in the GDR on an official friendly visit, has visited the city of Erfurt, a large engineering center in the republic. A warm meeting took place between the Soviet guests and the leaders of the district council, deputies of the GDR People's Chamber, and members of the district and county councils of deputies. Gothe, the chairman of the Erfurt District Council, discussed the work of the local organs of popular authority and the active participation of the working people in the implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. He stressed that the collective of the enterprise believed it to be its international duty to fulfill orders for the Soviet Union punctually and to a high quality standard.

The Erfurt District Council hosted a luncheon in honor of the delegation of Soviet parliamentarians. Comrade Kapitonov cordially thanked the German friends for the warm reception and congratulated them on their successes in the development of industrial and agricultural production. He said: In Erfurt, as everywhere throughout the GDR, a profound feeling of respect and sympathy for the Soviet people and the fraternal peoples of the countries of socialism is clearly manifested. I cannot fail to recall the remarkable words of a great friend of the people of the GDR--Leonid Ilich Brezhnev--who said: In the communists of the GDR, in the people of the GDR, we have seen and we see reliable comrades in the common cause who are faithful to our common and great ideals, persistent and skillful in labor and steadfast under any tests. The steady rapprochement of our states and our peoples, the unification of our efforts for the efficient use of their material and spiritual potentials in the interests of the successful solution of the tasks of socialist and communist construction is the unchanging course of the CPSU and the SED, which is in keeping with the interests of the whole socialist community, the head of the delegation said. He stressed the great significance of cooperation and the comradely exchange of experience between sister towns, districts, regions of the two countries, including that between the District of Erfurt and the Lithuanian Republic.

The Soviet guests visited throughout the town and inspected its new residential areas. They visited the international exhibition of horticulture and vegetable growing whose pavillions and conservatories spread over an area of 100 hectares.

BREZHNEV CONDOLENCES TO KHOMEYNI ON EARTHQUAKE

LD311026 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul, TASS--Leonid Brezhnev has expressed profound condolences to Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi Khomeyni, head of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in connection with the earthquake that occurred in the area of Kerman and led to human casualties and considerable destruction.

Leonid Brezhnev expressed sincere symapthy with the bereft families and earthquake victims.

MOSCOW PERSIAN REPORTS EXECUTION OF SA'ADATI

GF301938 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Today's edition of PRAVDA, which is published in Moscow, carries the report published in the French newspaper L'HUMANITE on the execution of Reza Sa'adati, one of the leaders of the Mojahedin-e Khalq, Reza Sa'adati spent many years in the shah's prisons and was tortured by SAVAK, the shah's secret police.

L'HUMANITE stresses that the execution of Sa'adati and of many others in Iran has created reasons for just concern for all democrats and all those who supported the revolution in Iran.

IRAN READY TO SEND ARMS, MEN TO PALESTINIANS

NC311033 Paris AFP in English 1008 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jul (AFP)--Iran is prepared to send "arms and volunteers" to assist the Palestinian people if necessary, Tehran's Ambassador in Moscow Mohammed Mokri said here today.

Mr Mokri told a press conference that Iran already gave the Palestinians as much help as it could in their struggle against Israel, but was prepared to furnish "concrete assistance".

He added that Jerusalem, which Israel has declared its "eternal and undivided capital", belonged to the entire Moslem world, and "if necessary Iranians would go there to defend the Holy City".

AFP: USSR READY FOR PLO EMBASSY IN MOSCOW

NC301851 Paris AFP in English 1819 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jul (AFP)--The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) will be represented in Moscow by a duly accredited ambassador as of next fall, a Palestinian source here said today. An agreement to that effect has already been signed by the PLO and the Kremlin but not yet made public, the same source reported. The ambassador would be accredited as the representative of "the occupied territories of Palestine," the source added. He did not indicate whom the PLO would name for the post.

The establishment of full diplomatic relations with the PLO, in the view of observers, is part of a general Soviet diplomatic effort to play a role in the Middle East. Moscow broke relations with Israel in 1967 and the Kremlin has opposed the U.S.-sponsored Camp David agreement between Israel and Egypt while championing an independent Palestinian state. Virtually absent from the area in recent years, the Soviet Union last October signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with Syria, and in recent months has invited several Arab visitors, including Libya's Colonel Mu'ammar al'Qadhdhafi.

By authorizing the opening of a PLO embassy here, the Kremlin will be signalling its firm support for the Arab side in the Middle East conflict, diplomats said.

LEBANON URGES ARAB SUMMIT ON SITUATION IN SOUTH

PM301529 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 81 p 5

[Correspondent R. Moseyev dispatch under the general headline "Provocations Against Lebanon"]

[Text] Lebanon has officially submitted to the Arab League a proposal for an urgent top-level conference of the Arab states. Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan announced this to journalists here. It was noted that the situation in the south of Lebanon remains extremely tense. Despite the cease-fire, Israel has not renounced its expansionist intentions and might at any moment unleash new aggression. At this difficult time for the Arabs, the prime minister said, we consider it necessary to hold a conference of the heads of state and the government of Arab countries with the aim of working out a unified position in the face of the growing Israeli danger.

SOVIET WARSHIPS PAY VISIT TO LIBYA 25-30 JULY

PM301343 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jul 81 p 1

[TASS report: On an Official Visit]

[Text] Tripoli, 25 Jul--A detachment of Soviet warships consisting of the patrol vessels Deyatelnyy and Razitelnyy under the command of Rear Adm G.I. Shalygin has arrived here on an official visit.

During their stay in the Libyan port of Tripoli 25-30 July the Soviet sailors will meet with representatives of the local public, visit the Libyan capital's industrial enterprises and familiarize themselves with the sights of the city and its environs, and the Soviet sailors' orchestra will give performances for Tripoli's inhabitants.

End of Visit

LD310930 Moscow TASS in English 0859 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Tripoli, 31 Jul, TASS--A Soviet naval squadron, consisting of the guardships Deyatelny and Razitelny, commanded by Rear Adm Shalygin, has ended an official friendly visit to Libya.

During their 5-day stay at the Libyan port of Tripoli, the Soviet sailors met representatives of the Libyan Navy, visited a number of factories and made sightseeing tours of the city.

MOSCOW CITES AFP ON COUP D'ETAT IN GAMBIA

LD301618 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 30 Jul 81

[Text] There was a takeover in Gambia, a country in the west of Africa, last night. The fact was reported by the FRANCE PRESSE AGENCY. A group of army men toppled the government of President Dawda Jawara while he left the country to attend the wedding of Crown Prince Charles in London.

ANGOLAN, PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS ISSUE COMMUNIQUE

LD311020 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 31 Jul 81

[Text] Lisbon, 31 Jul, TASS--The Portuguese Communist Party and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Workers' Party of the People's Republic of Angola attach priority significance to the consolidation of detente and defence of peace, it is said in a joint communique of the Portuguese Communist Party and the MPLA-Workers' party of the People's Republic of Angola, headed by member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA-Workers' Party Lucio Lara, visited Portugal at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party. To defeat plans of imperialism and to successfully continue the revolutionary process, the parties believe, it is necessary to strengthen unity and cohesion of all revolutionary anti-imperialist forces of the world: the USSR and other socialist countries, the progressive states, the working class of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movements, the communique says.

Both delegations declared their intention to continue exposing anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaigns, like those which have been unleashed around the events in Afghanistan and socialist Poland, and which are used to "justify" imperialism's policy of the arms race and aggression.

The parties denounced the collusion of American imperialism and NATO with the Republic of South Africa which led to greater aggressiveness of the Pretoria racists, and emphasized that NATO's large-scale "Ocean Venture-81" exercises are a threat to peace, security and independence of the peoples. The delegations strongly denounced South Africa's military aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and demanded its immediate termination.

The Portuguese Communist Party and the MPLA-Workers' Party reaffirmed their firm support of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, and denounced the illegal occupation of the country by South African racists and demanded implementation of the U.N. decisions on Namibia.

The delegations pledged solidarity with all peoples fighting against imperialism and are victims of its aggression, primarily solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine, the peoples of El Salvador, Nicaragua and also the Cuban revolution which is subjected to incessant provocations and threats from American imperialism.

Under present-day conditions, the document stresses, consolidation of links between the Portuguese Communist Party and the MPLA-Workers' Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is bound to become a major contribution to the development of the relations of friendship and solidarity between the Portuguese and Angolan peoples and invigoration of inter-state contacts between Portugal and the People's Republic of Angola.

KULIK CRITICIZES U.S.-SOUTH AFRICAN COLLUSION

LD302200 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 30 Jul 81

[By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jul, TASS--The terrorist regime of the Republic of South Africa plays the role of the USA's assistant, with the aid of which the U.S. imperialists try to destabilize progressive regimes in Africa, to frustrate a settlement in Namibia and to create a new dangerous seat of international tension in the southern Africa subcontinent. This is the conclusion which foreign-policy observers, analysing the motive forces of the increase in the South African racists' aggressiveness with regard to Angola, arrive at.

Since the people's government came to power in Luanda, the USA has been systematically using the South African military for fighting the MPLA-Workers' Party.

It was precisely the White House that was the real organizer of South Africa's aggression against Angola in 1975-1976, aggression which compelled the Government of the PRA [People's Republic of Angola] to apply to friendly socialist countries for internationalist help. Since then U.S. propaganda has been repeating over and over again that the presence of Cuban servicemen in Angola is allegedly the source of tension in that part of Africa. In actual fact, as has been already repeatedly stated by authoritative Angolan leaders, the Cuban contingent would long have been withdrawn from the PRA if the neocolonialists ceased their provocations against Angola.

"The subversive actions by the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa against the PRA have become markedly active since the Reagan administration's taking office", stated Lucio Lara, member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA--Workers' Party, speaking in Lisbon yesterday.

The U.S. imperialists and the racists of the Republic of South Africa, having established close cooperation between the CIA and Pretoria's secret special services, jointly support the terrorist bands of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] in the vain hope to bring Jonas Savimbi, a traitor to the Angolan people, a paid agent of the CIA to power in Luanda. It is also with his aid that attempts are made to weaken the SWAPO's national liberation movement in Namibia, and to install in that country a regime obedient to the neocolonialists. By relying on it, Washington and Pretoria hope to draw Namibia into the aggressive bloc of SATO [South Asia Treaty Organization] being knocked together by them, and to turn the Namibian territory into a springboard for continuation of the aggressive policy against independent states and the national liberation movements of the African Continent.

All these facts taken into consideration, the joint anti-Angolan policy by the USA and the Republic of South Africa can be appraised only in one way. It is part and parcel of the imperialists' overall aggressive course directed against the forces of peace and progress, and aimed at heightening tension and at increasing the danger of war.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA ON U.S. POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

LD201926 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 20 Jul 81

[Text] The American public organization Transafrica has made public a number of secret State Department documents in its possession. The Soviet newspaper RED STAR [Krasnaya ZVEZDA] has this comment:

These documents relate to the talks between high-ranking American and South African officials. They contain, among other things, material concerning a visit to South Africa by Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker and a trip to Washington by South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha. The documents disclosed the essence of the Reagan administration's new African policy, the strengthening of the military and political alliance between Washington and Pretoria.

Chester Crocker's memorandum, prepared for Secretary of State Haig, says relations between the United States and South Africa have entered a phase of historic significance. The basis for closer ties with South Africa, Crocker goes on to say, is in the two countries' strategic interests in the South of Africa. The United States administration unambiguously promotes the idea of including the Pretoria regime in the sphere of activity of NATO and this idea is supported by NATO's Secretary General Joseph Luns and other leaders of that [word indistinct] bloc. President Reagan's key adviser on African affairs has said (?we'll lack no one who can) help develop our relations with South Africa.

The United States attaches great importance to the implementation of the racist plan for hammering together a so-called constellation of south African nations sponsored by the Pretoria regime. The documents expose the United States stance on the Namibian problem, a stance which runs counter to the United Nations plan. The United Nations plan provides for stopping the occupation of Namibia and for holding there free elections under United Nations auspices. The United States, says Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker, will seek to ammend the Security Council Resolution Number 435 and to gain such a settlement in Namibia that would answer the interests of South Africa and the United States. This would mean in effect establishing in Windhoek a pro-South African regime and preventing SWAPO from deciding on Namibia's future. This obviously provocative scheme assigns the role of battle for Namibia to the terrorist anti-Angolan UNITA group which has claims to the south of Angola. In effect this means an attempt to annex part of a sovereign nation, Angola.

SUPREME SOVIET EXAMINES USSR-CONGO TREATY

PM270709 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jul 81 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has submitted for a decision by the Foreign Affairs Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities the treaty on friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of the Congo signed in Moscow 13 May 1981 and submitted for ratification by the USSR Council of Ministers.

SOVIET LEADERS SEND GREETINGS ON CUBAN JUBILEE

Brezhnev, Tikhonov Message

PM301458 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Central Committee and president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers:

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro!

From ourselves personally and on behalf of all the Soviet people we extend cordial congratulations to you and to the Cuban people on National Uprising Day--the revolutionary holiday of the Republic of Cuba.

The freedom-loving Cuban people's high revolutionary spirit shown at Moncada, Sierra Maestra and Playa Giron is now embodied in the creative work of building a new society. We are sincerely gratified by Cuba's achievements in the socioeconomic and cultural spheres and by the confident rate of work in all sectors of socialist building.

Soviet people are in solidarity with the Cuban people in their determination to strengthen their motherland's defenses and defend their socialist gains. The people's close cohesion around the PCC and the republic's government are a fitting response to the imperialists' intrigues.

The Republic of Cuba is a strong link in the community of socialist states. Cuba has many friends throughout the world and the republic's prestige in the international arena is high. It has been earned through a consistent peace policy, the struggle for the people's security and against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and any form of imperialist oppression: and its defense of the people's right to freedom, independence and social progress.

In the current situation, when the forces of imperialism and hegemonism are fueling international tension it is vitally important, while dealing them a firm and principled rebuff, to take vigorous action in the interests of improving the political climate. We hold in high regard cooperation with Cuba in the struggle against the threat of war and for the development of the detente process and expansion of international cooperation.

For many years now our peoples, united by communist ideals, have been successfully developing fruitful cooperation in various spheres. We will continue to strengthen our fraternal friendship and solidarity.

We wish you, Comrade Fidel Castro, and all the republic's communists and working people further successes in fulfilling the Second PCC Congress decisions aimed at developing the economy and culture, boosting the people's well-being and ensuring the country's further progress along the path of socialism.

[Signed] L. Brezhnev N. Tikhnov

Ustinov Cable to Raul Castro

PM301505 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] To Army General Comrade Raul Castro Ruz, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba:

Esteemed comrade minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and on my own account I cordially congratulate you and the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces personnel on the 28th anniversary of National Uprising Day.

The feat of those who took part in the storming of the Moncada barracks and their devotion to the cause of the country's national liberation inspire Cuban servicemen to new achievements for the consolidation of their motherland's defense capability. Under the conditions of imperialism's constant attempts to aggravate the international situation, they are vigilantly standing guard over the freedom and independence of the Republic of Cuba.

I wish the servicemen of the Revolutionary Armed Forces further successes in improving their combat skill and raising their combat readiness in the interests of the reliable defense of their people's revolutionary gains and the ensuring of their successful advance along the path of building socialism.

With communist greetings

[Signed] Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Ustinov, USSR Minister of Defense

U.S.-HAITI TREATY OVER TORTUGA ISLAND SCORED

PY302246 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish to Latin America 0130 GMT 23 Jul 81

[Text] The main objective of the peoples is to control the arms race and achieve disarmament.

As it has already been disclosed the United States has signed an agreement with the Haitian Government to establish a new naval base on Tortuga Island. This new enclave of the Pentagon will complete the list of U.S. military units, which total more than 2,500 spread out in more than 100 countries.

The declaration released by the representatives of the Democratic Union of Haitian Immigrants states that the base on Tortuga Island will be a threat not only for the Haitian people but also for the people of Nicaragua, Grenada, for the entire movement for national liberation in the Caribbean and Central America and in the first place for socialist Cuba.

The scheduled U.S. usurpation of Tortuga Island is a new confirmation of the increasing military activity in Latin America.

It is well known that the United States is interested in obtaining a small area of Uruguayan territory to establish a post for the supply of ammunitions and fuel for U.S. planes and ships. It has been disclosed that the corresponding official request has already been submitted to the Uruguayan authorities.

[Words indistinct] the activities increase in Puerto Rico which has been transformed by the Pentagon into an unsinkable aircraft carrier. The United States has already established 16 military bases here. Among them is the largest U.S. naval station, Roosevelt Roads, which occupies a 15,000 hectare area. Ships of any draught can anchor in the roadstead of this station where an airbase for interceptor and spy planes has been constructed. The islands of Vieques and Culebras, near the end of Puerto Rico, serve as targets for the torpedoes and bombs which are used to rehearse maritime and air deployment operations.

During the past few months the number of officers at the Ceiba base has increased considerably. The use of the military base such as the base at Lowe Field, near Ponce is, for example, to increase the U.S. military presense in Puerto Rico and quarter new troops there.

There is a doubt in this regard. What are these measures taken for? As Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, stated during her recent participation in a meeting of the consultive committee of the State Department, that the main issue in the U.S. policy regarding the Caribbean countries is to maintain U.S. hegemony in that area by turning Puerto Rico into a bastion, a sort of U.S. Gibraltar. She made this comparison since [words indistinct] the important role which Gibraltar played in the preservation of Great Britain's hegemony in the Mediterranean Sea.

The Latin American people cannot ignore the fact that any imperialist military presence, whatever name or form it may adopt, constitutes a threat to its peaceful (?struggle) and sovereignty. This is the reason for the Latin American protests against the U.S. military bases which are the source of a tense atmosphere in international relations, a constant threat to peace and the security of the people of the area.

This is vehemently proved by the protest of the Haitian democrats against handing over Tortuga Island to the U.S. usurpers.

SHCHEKINO LABOR-SHARING METHOD RESULTS EXAMINED

PM301043 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jul 81 pp 2-3

[First of three "Letters from Shchekino" by Aleksandr Radov: "Experiment's Paradoxes"]

[Text] We are faced with a genuine as yet entirely unedited production drama. If it were transferred to the stage, it would keep the audience in great suspense until its very last exchange. For 14 straight years the Shchekino method has been combating the inertia of extensive economic management. There is much that is both edifying and instructive for us in this conflict....

It is no distance at all from Moscow to Shchekino: 3 hours to Tula, and another 20 minutes from there.... Some 3 versts before you get there you reach Tolstoy's Yasnaya Polyana.... Surely you cannot pass it by? Indeed, where could you find an atmosphere more conducive to untroubled thought?... But how can you think here of anything totally unconnected with Tolstoy? And I recalled the words of Lev Nikolayevich once imprinted in my memory: "They say one swallow does not make a spring; but surely a swallow which feels the spring does not wait to fly just because one swallow does not make a spring? That way every bud and blade of grass would have to wait and there would be no spring...."

Only then did I grasp that this idea of Tolstoy's had come to mind by association--as a continuation of my discussion with Boris Mikhaylovich Sukharevskiy, responsible, by virtue of his service in the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, for wages policy in the country. I telephoned him before I left for Shchekino for an explanation of several oddities in the fate of the Shchekino experiment. And I heard him say:

"The Shchekino method arose prematurely and has therefore had to be amended...."

Prematurely? I recalled the excitement caused in the late sixties by the economic experiment at the Shchekino chemical combine, which has now become the Azot association. In the experiment's first 2 years alone the Shchekino team released 1,000 workers, that is 1 in every 7, and began to produce twice as much output. A fantastic start!

The Shchekino experiment, which later become a method suitable for all, arose primarily as a method for combating the cadres shortage. It makes it possible to reassign workers from places, enterprises and professions where there is a surplus to areas where there is an obvious shortage. But to cover a shortage by means of a surplus it is necessary to make it in the interest of enterprises and institutions to make do with fewer people. This is not a trivial point, since the conditions of economic management at the time encouraged the opposite--hoarding surplus staff by every means and building up "emergency stocks" of materials, equipment and manpower....

And what happened? Did the method cope with the task for which it was created? I take the statistics and ascertain that the method is now used at 1,500 enterprises in the country and partially at 8,000 more.... Surely this is a lot? With its aid about 200,000 workers have been released thanks to whom 350 new enterprises have been staffed.... You will agree that the method has worked pretty well.... But on the other hand, ten times more was demanded of it. After all, even in Tulskaya Oblast, where the Shchekino method, through the concern of local party organs, was promoted immeasurably more forcefully than elsewhere--even there there is a chronic lack of manpower. Indeed, in Shchekino itself, where one chemical combine alone released 1,800 people throughout these years, 30 percent of construction workers' jobs are not filled.

So what is the matter? Is the method itself imperfect or has it been misused? That is what we have to investigate.... What is the gist of the Shchekino experiment? It was suggested to the collective that while producing the same output they manage with fewer people--the entire wages fund is yours, divide it among the remainder.... Tempting, is it not? I spent a long time searching for the author of this fine idea. Then, in Shchekino, local gossip in the shape of a hairdresser from the chemical industry workers' settlement supplied the following version: Petr Mikhaylovich Sharov--the chemical combine's director at the time--had brought the idea for the experiment from Canada.

"Was it really from Canada?" I asked Petr Mikhaylovich.

He burst out laughing:

"I've never been to Canada!"

It turned out the idea was not a new one. It was born and successfully implemented back in 1921. A labor and defense council resolution said: "The size of an enterprise's wages is not reduced although the number of workers has dropped as a result of better organization, and payment is assigned to the enterprise in accordance with the results of its work and not on the basis of the number of people on its payroll."

All the enterprises taking part in the experiment at that time (and they included the Renofed Serp I Molot, Krasnoye Sormovo, and Trekhgornaya Manufaktura) succeeded in just a few months in sharply increasing production and reducing the number of cases of abstenteeism. This incentive to labor productivity growth proved powerful. And it was applied, mark you, when unemployment was at its height. You can imagine how many reasons existed then for keeping on deliberately superfluous people at plants and factories. But the approach was a principled one. "The presence at factories and plants, with this organization of labor, of superfluous workers unnecessary to production is a crime against the working class," Feliks Dzerzhinskiy said, and, as we know, he knew how to distinguish true proletarian humanism from philanthropy.

Almost 50 years later this idea was reborn in Shchekino. Why there? To answer this question you must remember that in the Eighth 5-Year Plan the country was virtually recreating the chemical fertilizer industry. New chemical production facilities were springing up everywhere, particularly in the Non-Chernozem; but there was no experienced manpower for them. The only thing left was to reckon on existing enterprises sharing their cadres with the newly constructed plants.... Without harming the cause, naturally. But appropriate economic conditions were needed, and the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, which had the greatest interest, elaborated the conditions of the experiment. Its implementation was proposed to 1, 2, 3 and finally 16 enterprises in the sector. But they all rejected it categorically. And then Deputy Minister K. Cherednichenko himself set off the Shchekino....

Here it would be neat for me to describe how these 16 cautious enterprises are now losing out and how innovation has been rewarded and singled out by comparison with conservatism. But what do I learn in Shchekino? The chemical combine is at breaking point: It failed to meet the 5-year plan, has high cadre turnover and is losing truly irreplaceable workers--after all, each of them is the master of three or four professions.... This turnover is due to the fact that for 5 straight years the combine has not received a single apartment from the construction workers.

Is this not a paradox? But the most paradoxical thing of all lies elsewhere--in the 10th 5-Year Plan and the two previous 5-year plans the chemical combine worked in a simply exemplary manner. Nonetheless, while recording impressive production indicators, it was in such a financial low water that difficulties arose even in paying people's wages.

Let me introduce the main story line here--all the combine's ups and downs are due to the Shchekino method....And the nature of the enterprise--which is conscientious--has also been nurtured in the experiment. Here is an example: The collective is frequently taken to task from city tribunes. The reason? Failing to meet the 5-year plan. But the combine has a most valid reason--the construction workers have let it down: They failed to commission on time new blocks from which output had already been planned for the combine. Yes, but in such cases the plan is amended: I know that related enterprises, even without mitigating circumstances, frequently take the same opportunity to rectify their business. Why has Shchekino's Azot association not ventured to do the same?

"We cannot do that!" Nikolay Romanovich Milentyev, the combine's current director, categorically replied. "We represent the method and the method's prestige." I understood from his tone that he was using the word "method" with a capital M. "We do not have the moral right to work badly or take advantage of indulgences.... After all, people come to learn from us and everyone looks at how we are working!"

I assure you that the majority of the combine's cadre workers share the same moral maximalism. For a long time I could not understand where it came from. I asked everybody this question one after the other. Both Lev Nikolayevich Arapov the combine's chief designer, and his two colleagues--Radzin and Lebedev. Interrupting each other--described with boyish enthusiasm the passion with which they began the experiment once upon a time:

"The word 'must' took precedence over the word 'can'.... At the time our exactingness toward ourselves and each other was very high...."

[Question] Your great local luminary [Tolstoy] said: "People live either above or below in their conscience." At that time, as I understand it, you lived above your conscience?

"To some degree that is so," Radzin agrees.

"And we are living like that now, too!" Arapov said firmly.

[Question] Where did this come from?

"It was generated in the course of the experiment," Radzin prompts.

Arapov specifies:

"However strange it may seem, a certain inertia is inherent in both man and the collective.... And at our combine too there was inertia and stagnation.... They had to be overcome.... And the experiment helped...."

A few weeks later I heard from Minister Aleksey Georgiyevich Petrishev a very important and unerring idea:

"The Shchekino method was aimed at surmounting negative habits."

"Inertia?" I ventured to specify.

"Inertia!" the minister confirmed.

But here again there is a paradox: The method was born as a means of combating inertia in economic management but itself foundered in it. You cannot explain one paradox by another, and it is high time they were explained. But glib phrases are no help here. Let us muster our patience and begin with the spring of 1967, when the idea of the experiment seemed fantastic to everyone at the combine.

The first reaction was similar to that manifested at unexpected discoveries: "It cannot be!"

That, they say, is how the Shchekino workers received the very first suggestion concerning the experiment. They agreed to the experiment with great diffidence. They were afraid of everything: of discomfiture--that things would suddenly not work out; of an accident--the production process involved the risk of explosion and fire; of human conflicts--what if one of the "superfluous" people did not want to leave the collective; and of interruptions in the plan--there would be no reserve manpower now, and with whom would they embark on crash programs and rush work?....

Why in that case did they agree? What incentive proved stronger than fear? "You see, it is interesting to experiment.... When you fulfill the plan by 100.1 percent working becomes boring.... But an experiment--that's interesting...."

You must agree that this is not a traditional statement for an enterprise director. But Petr Mikhaylovich Sharov was not an ordinary director. Had it not been for that the Shchekino experiment would not have taken place or would have been called something else. Yet it was harder for him, the director, than it was for anyone to make up his mind. The sole leader.... If anything happened, he would be the first to be answerable.... He too now admits that he was afraid, but at the time no one could see any doubts in him.

Things are clear as far as the director is concerned. But the workers? After all, here more than anywhere the leaders needed a mandate of trust from below.

"Of course, many people disagreed at first," senior automatic machine specialist [avtomatchik] Vladimir Aleksandrovich Popov explained to me. "What did we fear? That working would become more difficult. After all, the number of machines to be operated had increased.... Why did we agree? We had a material interest. When everything had settled down, a senior instrument control man had a supplement of R35 to his basic wage. And there is a bonus on top of that.

"I want to note straight away one factor of fundamental importance distinguishing the genuine Shchekino method from the fakes. It was not the administration but the entire collective which undertook to manage with a smaller number of people. The leaders--administrative and social--described everything honestly, tried to remove all fears, preferred publicity in everything and resolved all the most important questions collegially. The experiment began very democratically at the chemical combine and therefore generated a surge of mass activeness. Here is just one figure which explains a lot: In the course of the experiment 160 rationalizing proposals have been made for every 100 workers at the combine. And here is another indicator: Throughout the duration of the experiment there has not been a single anonymous letter, a single complaint, although 1,800 people were removed."

[Question] How did you choose who was to leave?

"The matter was decided very simply," V. Popov continues. "Those with the worst knowledge of their job realized themselves that they could not stay when they were required to operate a large number of machines."

"Those who were afraid of work left," his friend Zufar Galiaskarov adds.

Here was a mistake. It was to make itself felt a few years later, but it would be too late to rectify. Let us compare two figures: At the start of the experiment the average age of the combine's workers was 27, while 14 years later, that is, this year, it is 41. It turns out that throughout these years the combine has only gotten older.

"Of course," Popov comments, "those who left were mainly those who could not withstand the first stage--mostly young people...."

"But was this far-sighted on your part?" I asked.

"Absolutely not...."

So, unintentionally and unforseeably, they made a cadre mistake which is already resulting in losses. And the ministry helped to make another. It took a formal approach to the combine and stopped assigning it VUZ graduates. The logic was simple: Why send new engineers when the combine was getting rid of them?

"You can realize yourself," Svetlana Nikolayevna Afanasyeva, combine party committee deputy secretary, insistently impressed on me, "what the absence of an influx of new engineering thought means to any enterprise...."

What I understand but am not able to express is how that circumstance turned out for the combine: The majority of shop leaders have no higher education and moreover are not supported by young and better educated deputies....

But how can the Shchekino workers be reproached for their mistakes? After all they were following an untrodden path: If only those who have to go further along this path had learned from these mistakes.... But things are bad in this respect. The precious experience of the Shchekino trailblazers, in our opinion, has been insufficiently studied and disseminated. Even chemical industry economists, I know for a fact, have only a most generalized and often distorted idea of the Shchekino method. Our social sciences are also to blame here. From the very beginning and to this very day the Shchekino experiment was not organized scientifically. And consequently there are no scientific conclusions as to whether the Shchekino method is good or bad, specialized or universal, topical or premature....

Science offers the Shchekino workers little help and consequently they have done everything themselves. For example, they thought up the idea of creating 12 public commissions to introduce the method. They have become a powerful help to the administration. One of them was for cadre questions. It sought and created employment opportunities for people released from the combine. For this purpose it corresponded with related enterprises in other cities and kept a record of all vacancies in its own city.

The experiment's organizers were wise enough to eliminate primarily the jobs which were the most arduous, most primitive and most injurious to health, transferring them to automation. Consequently the experiment became an incentive for the retooling of production. At the root of this was not only concern for comfortable working conditions for people but also the apprehension that the reserves immediately available would not last for long. People had to dig deeper! Who? Primarily the engineers. The Shchekino experiment, particularly the second and third stages, had in-depth engineering backup. Here is an example which I heard from Sharov:

"You know that chemical production is based on the monitoring of many parameters. In order to release about 100 laboratory assistants we had to cut the number of analyses by a million a year. What does this mean? Every analysis was built into the manufacturing process. In order to get rid of it, we had to have dealings with many design institutes, to persuade them and urge them and then to resolve for ourselves questions of automization of control and so on!"

I know how many valuable innovative initiatives are cut short half way due to the fact that engineers stand aside from innovation because the system of payment for their labor is autonomous and invariable. Social labor incentives which give rise to the concept of "us" have very little effect. Here, in Shchekino, it was precisely these incentives for strenuous and honest labor which were brought particularly into play.

The collective's organizational impotence and inability to perceive and implement its general interest is often the basic obstacle in a major new task....

I can imagine that such obstacles also existed in Shchekino, but they have receded. The new economic situation which resulted from the experiment helped primarily. The Shchekino method is based on three pillars: a stable production plan for the 5-year plan with targets broken down by year; a constant wage fund; and the right to pay increments for the intensification of labor. If these conditions are viewed from a contemporary angle the combine has not achieved so very much. But it has nonetheless meant for it the right to independent management...for several years they believed at the combine that what you earn is what you will receive and everything which you devise will work for you and your collective.....

But 3 years have passed....however, we will save this story line for the next letter.....

BRIEFS

NEW GAS DEPOSIT--A new natural gas deposit, the fifth this year, has been discovered by Uzbek geologists. The first boreholes sunk in the Karshi steppe have turned out to be quite productive and the deposit's daily output is estimated to be more than 500,000 cubic meters. The new deposit is situated near other gas fields, which will accelerate its development. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 29 Jul 81 LD]

PRAVDA REPORTS HARVEST PROGRESS, PROBLEMS

PM301029 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 81 p 1

[A. Razhitnev "Agricultural Review": "Protect Everything Cultivated"--first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Summer is in full swing. With every passing day, July adds to the arable farmers' concerns. Fodder procurement is continuing. Its pace is considerably higher than last year. The USSR Central Statistical Administration has reported that by 20 July, the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes had laid in 37.6 million tons of hay, 39.3 million tons of cured hay, 6.9 million tons of silage and 3.4 million tons of grass meal. More and more regions are embarking on the harvest. The grain harvesting and threshing are already being performed by the farms of 12 union republics. By the end of the second 10-day period in July, some 22.7 million hectares of grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) has been cut or 19 percent of the sown area and 14.3 million hectares had been threshed. The flow of grain to the elevators and grain collection points is increasing.

The harvest's main front has moved to the fields of the North Caucasus, the Volga Region and the Ukraine's central oblasts. Many farms' grain growers are displaying exemplary organization in reaping and threshing. Over 1,200 harvest and transportation complexes and detachments are working from dawn to dusk in Krasnodarskiy Kray. Some 1.6 million hectares of cereals or 77 percent of their sown area have been reaped here. The reaping of early grain crops is nearing completion in Stavropolskiy Kray. Reaping on a mass scale is being conducted on the farms of the Volga Region and Russia's Central Chernozem Region.

One of arable farmers' most important tasks is the prompt fulfillment of the plan for grain sales to the state. The farms of the Don have already dispatched 1 million tons of grain to the elevators as have those of the Kuban. The dispatching of grain is proceeding well in a number of regions in the Ukraine and the Central Asian republics. At the same time, in some places people are in no hurry to carry out this first commandment. The dispatching of grain from the threshing floors to the elevators is being unjustifiably delayed by some kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Kabardino-Balkarskaya ASSR and Krymskaya Oblast. It is a matter of honor for rural leaders and experts and all arable farmers to settle their accounts with the state promptly and to lay in store their own seed and fodder stocks.

The hot, dry weather has affected the condition of the grain crops, of course. In a number of regions they have turned out stunted and sparse. In the resulting situation it is particularly important not to allow losses to occur and to gather in completely everything that has been grown--not just the grain but also the straw and chaff which are to supplement the livestock units' fodder balance. All the combines on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Volgogrdskaya, Saratovskya and Orenburgsksya Oblasts have been adapted for cutting low. The experience, accumulated in past years, of gathering that grain which is difficult to harvest, is being utilized widely. The grain crops are being put into a double windrow in many areas. The combines are being adapted for chaff gathering. In order to reduce losses the machine operators are being paid for not only the grain threshed but also for the straw gathered from the fields.

However the conditions of the current harvesting period are being taken into account by no means everywhere. Mismanagement and a careless and irresponsibile attitude toward what is produced by the field and meadow still persist. For example, on the Krasnoye Znamya and Put K Kommunizmu Kolkhozes and the Kirov Sovkhoz in Pristenskiy Rayon, Kurskaya Oblast grain is being reaped and threshed at a shock-work pace and losses are not allowed to occur.

But nearby, on the Sverdlov Kohlhoz, these operations are being performed slowly. The reaping machines' and combines' productivity is low and the equipment frequently breaks down. In order to make up for time lost during stoppages, the machine operators are increasing the speed at which the threshing cylinder rotates although the grain needs to be threshed at low speeds. It is not surprising that after such a "harvest" there are tussocks of uncut stalks to be found at every step and ears are scattered among the stubble.

The party, Soviet and agricultural organs must take steps to avert such occurrences. Grain is the people's wealth. Everything must be done in order to reliably block losses.

The top-priority tasks include the acceleration in every way of the harvesting of pulse crops and rye. The combines' output on tracts of these crops is low and on certain farms, particularly on low-yielding sectors, the threshing of these crops is being pushed into the background. This produces a threat of grain losses and a shortage of scarce seeds. The kolkhoz and sovkhoz specialists and the agricultural and procurement organs must rectify the situation.

In order to increase the pace and quality of the harvest and to better organize grain procurement, it is necessary everywhere to apply work methods which have shown their great effectiveness in past years. Above all, this means the comprehensive large-group utilization of equipment, centralized grain shipment using truck convoys [avtopodrazdeleniyami] and the multiple trailer method [kombitreylerniy metod].

In recent days there has been rain in many regions of the country. The agrotechnical situation has changed. In places where these circumstances and the state of the grain crops and the weather are taken into account in choosing the harvesting method, losses are not, as a rule, being permitted to occur.

Without a doubt, success in the harvest depends to a large extent on the readiness of the technical base which ensures the harvesting and procurement of grain. The delay in the capital repair of the elevators in Kirgizia, Kazakhstan and Latvia is causing concern. In regions which are soon to embark on the harvest there is still a lot of unrepaired harvesting equipment. About 25,000 combines--one-fourth of the total pool--have not been repaired on Kazakhstan's farms. In Kirovskaya, Kostromskaya, Kurganskaya, Permskaya and Chitinskaya Oblasts many machines are not ready for work. All these shortcomings must be eliminated in the immediate future.

Questions of preparing for and conducting the harvest of potatoes, sugar beet, vegetables, fruit and other field produce also require particular concern on the part of the party, soviet and agricultural organs. A great deal of work will have to be done here. Only three-fourths of the beet-lifting combines have been repaired on the farms of the Moldavian SSR and Voronezhskaya Oblast. Thousands of potato-harvesting combines have not been repaired. In Estonia and Latvia more than half the storage facilities have not been made ready for receiving the potatoes.

To tighten up the weak links, to ensure a rapid pace and high standard of harvesting and to gather in the cultivated harvest in full, without losses--the efforts of the rural workers, the communists, and all those on whom the success of the harvest period depends must be directed toward this.